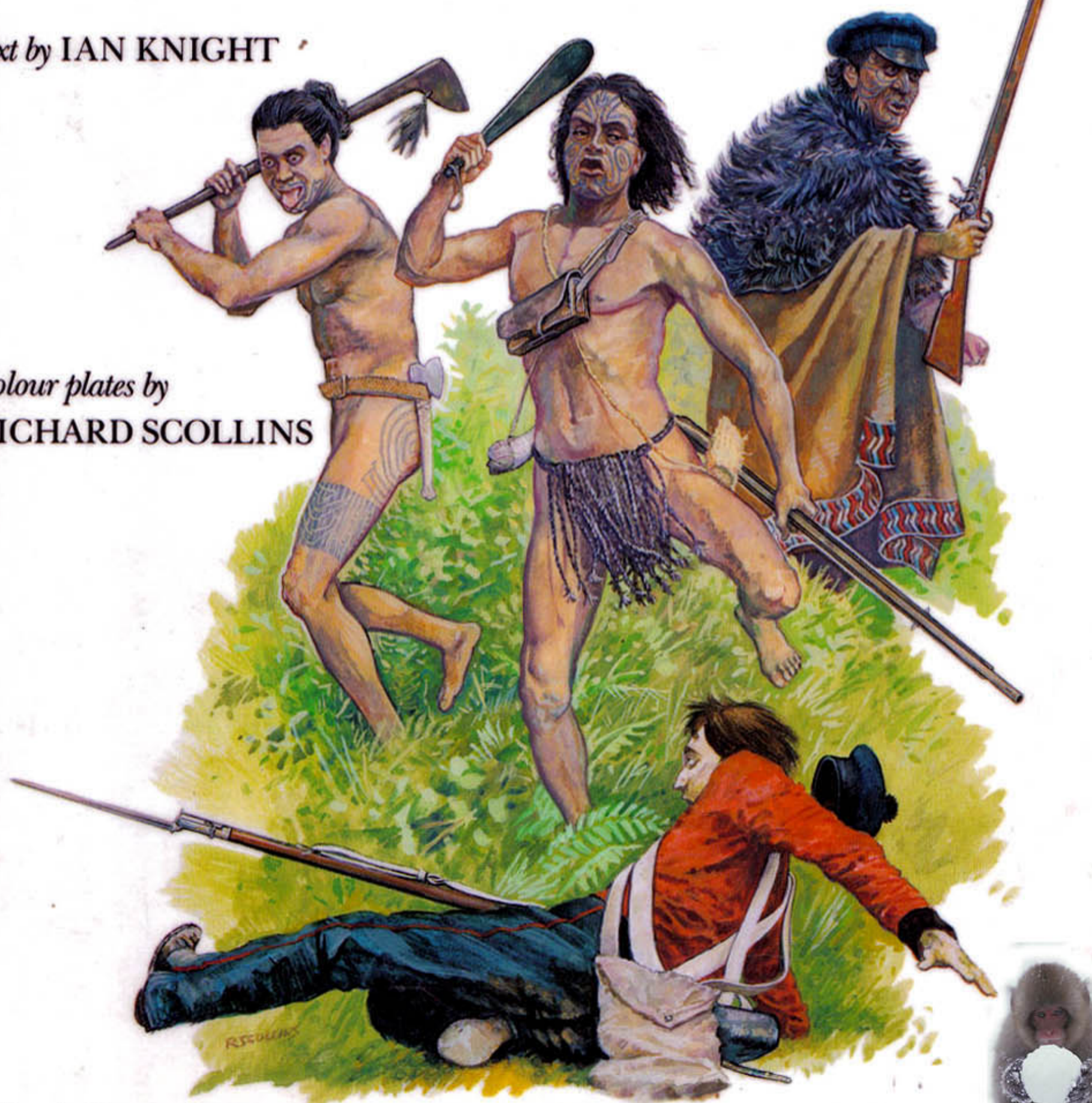


Queen Victoria's Enemies (4): Asia, Australasia and the Americas

Text by IAN KNIGHT

Colour plates by
RICHARD SCOLLINS



MEN-AT-ARMS SERIES

EDITOR: MARTIN WINDROW

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Readers seeking details of British troops during the Colonial wars should consult Michael Barthorp's series *The British Army on Campaign* in the Men-at-Arms series: *No. 1; 1816–1853* (MAA 193), *No. 3; 1854–81* (MAA 198), and *No. 4; 1882–1902* (MAA 201).

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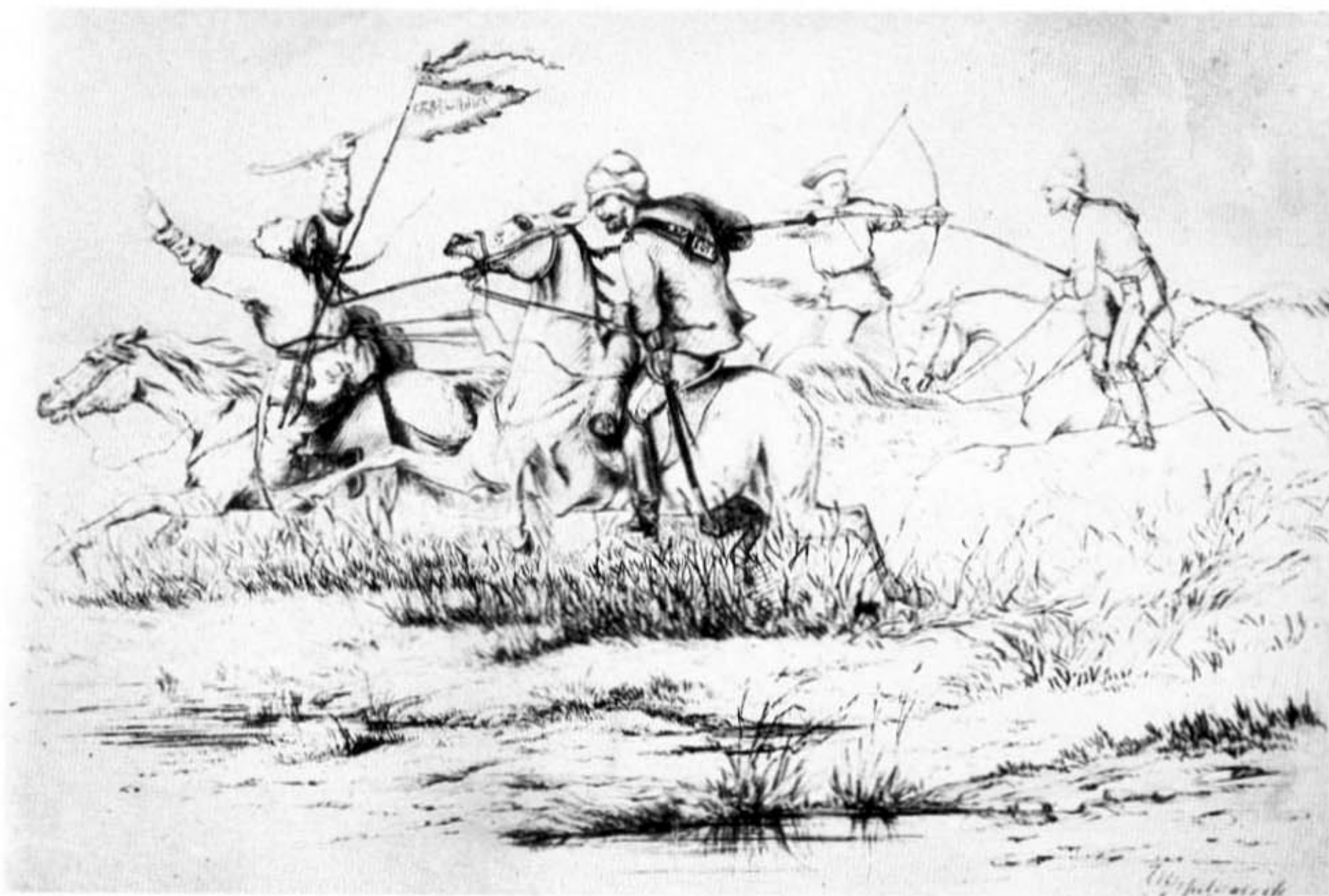
Introduction

Although India and Africa¹ remained the largest areas of British military commitment during the Victorian period, the spread of British strategic and commercial interests throughout the 19th century meant that the Army was called upon to serve in a variety of theatres across the world. Some of this fighting was severe: when the Queen came to the throne Britain was poised to go to war with China over the dubious question of the opium trade, and the close of her reign saw Britain as part of an international force suppressing the Boxer

Uprising. It took nearly 30 years of intermittent warfare to suppress Maori opposition to settler expansion in New Zealand. In other areas it amounted to little more than skirmishing, and incidents such as Brooke's campaign against the pirates of Borneo, or the Jamaican revolt of 1865, have largely been forgotten. It would be impossible in a book of this type to consider all of these campaigns fully, but it is hoped to suggest something of the variety of these 'small wars' and of the qualities of the disparate peoples who took to the field to oppose the spread of the British Empire.

¹ See also in this series MAA 212, *Queen Victoria's Enemies (1): Southern Africa*; MAA 215, (2): *Northern Africa*; and MAA 219 (3): *India*.

An eyewitness sketch by H. H. Crealock of a skirmish with 'Tartar' (Manchu) cavalry in 1860. The Manchu are armed with characteristic weapons, a matchlock (left) and bow (right). (National Army Museum)



China

To the minds of acquisitive Westerners embarking on a course of empire to enrich their rival national coffers, China at the start of the 19th century seemed another India—the prize plum of the East, ripe for the plucking. Within its enormous boundaries were 400 million potential customers for the goods produced with increasing efficiency by the processes of the Industrial Revolution, and whose unsaved pagan souls were a spur to missionary endeavour. What was more, the administration of the ruling Manchu Quing (Ch'ing) dynasty seemed hopelessly archaic, bureaucratic, inefficient and corrupt, and China's military forces were weak and anachronistic. Yet the Quing rulers of the Celestial Empire singularly failed to see the benefit of contact with Europeans who, from the

majesty of the Imperial Palace at Beijing (Peking), seemed no more than so many uncouth barbarians. The resultant frustration of the European powers was to be cruelly vented on China, making the 19th century a time of turmoil and conflict.

The first British traders had established a 'factory', or trading compound, at the port of Canton in 1757 but, like their Portuguese and French counterparts, had been expressly forbidden to move outside its confines. The British soon found China to be a lucrative market for opium, which was grown on the plains of north central India, and for a while proved to be the British East India Company's most profitable export. The Chinese

A famous photograph of the aftermath of the assault on the Dagu (Taku) Forts in 1860. The dead Chinese soldier, centre, is clearly wearing a surcoat with circular embroidered panel on the front; and typical Chinese weapons are littered about: a matchlock (centre bottom), *jingals* (leaning against the barricades, right), a crossbow (on the parapet), and a circular bamboo shield (left). (National Army Museum)



readily took to the drug, and British resentment at being confined in their area of operations mounted throughout the early part of the century. So did official Chinese disapproval of the opium trade; and in 1839 an official was sent by the Emperor to stamp out the import of opium through Canton.

The result was the first of a series of wars against Europeans, in which the issue was essentially the question of free trade, and the international equality such interaction implied. The Opium War lasted from 1839 to 1842, and set a pattern for latter conflict; it was marked not by continuous violence, but by occasional outbreaks of varying ferocity, interspersed with long negotiations. The Chinese were defeated in the field, and were forced to allow the British access to four more ports. They continued to refuse to allow foreign representatives at the Imperial Court, however, and to refuse to deal with them as independent governments of equal status.

In 1854 the Opium War treaty came up for revision, and the Chinese showed no sign of changing their attitude. In October 1856 a Chinese ship, the *Arrow*, sailing under the Union Jack and with a British captain, was boarded by Chinese officials and her crew arrested as pirates. The British representative in Canton demanded an apology, and fighting broke out. The French, no less frustrated than their British counterparts, were quick to join in to pursue grievances of their own. In December 1857 Canton fell to the whites, and in May 1858 the strategically important forts at Dagu (Taku) at the mouth of the River Peiho, only 100 miles from the capital, were taken. The Chinese opened negotiations and reluctantly agreed to accept foreign embassies at the Court, and Dagu was returned to them.

When, in June 1859, British and French ships arrived to deliver their representatives, they tried, against the terms of the agreement, to sail up the Peiho. The Dagu forts opened fire, and war broke out again. After the inevitable round of delays, evasions, negotiations and ultimatums, the British and French took the Dagu forts by storm in August 1860. They then advanced in the face of vacillating Chinese opposition to the outskirts of Beijing itself. The Emperor fled, and the Quing dynasty seemed on the point of collapse; unpaid and disorganised Chinese troops roamed the streets of the capital



A Chinese commander of 1860, wearing the typical costume of a high-ranking official: a plumed hat, and tunic bearing a panel declaring his status. This particular man has an Imperial dragon on his chest, which indicates his senior position. (National Army Museum)

while the foreigners looted and burned the Imperial summer palace. At the last minute the Chinese declared themselves willing to accept the Anglo-French demands, and the invaders withdrew, having secured their right to be represented in the Court and to expand their trading activities.

Yet the years of comparative peace with the Western powers brought China no respite. With their authority supreme over such a wide area, across so many geographical zones and over so many disparate groups of people, the Quing had to deal constantly with the threats of natural disaster and of rebellion. The last half of the decade was marked by several severe floods, which cost the lives of thousands of ordinary Chinese, disrupted provincial administration, and unsettled the survivors. And in 1851 a rebellion had broken out which would pose a major threat to the survival of the empire itself. The Taiping Rebellion was both a religious and a political movement, its leaders having forged a new religion from a fusion of Christian and Chinese beliefs, and it spread rapidly across central China. In the end it would be bloodily repressed, but not until 14 years later and at the cost of an estimated 20,000,000 dead.

The Quing reacted to the Taiping crisis with a

series of military and political reforms, but they were too small and too late to secure China's integrity in the face of subsequent foreign aggression. By the 1880s the 'scramble for empire' was in full swing in Europe, and the rival empires were keen to detach any Chinese possessions which were not under effective central control. In 1884 the French moved into Annam (Vietnam), which was then part of the Chinese empire, and seized it despite the resistance of the Chinese-backed Black Flag movement. Ten years later Japan, which had been rapidly modernising since enforced contact with the West 30 years before, overran Manchuria in a war which exposed the hopeless inadequacy of the Chinese armed forces. In 1896 Germany, a late entrant in the race for Colonial acquisitions, used a dispute involving its missionaries as a pretext for seizing several north China ports. The same year the Russians, not wishing to miss out, seized Port Arthur.

The Boxer Uprising

Inevitably, the action of the foreign powers provoked bitter resentment within China. The Dowager Empress Tz'u-hsi, who had been implacably opposed to contact with Westerners throughout her time at the Court, and had in 1898 ousted the Emperor in a palace coup and occupied the Imperial throne herself, used all the intrigues at her disposal to thwart them. Yet the greatest challenge to foreign intervention was to come not from the top layers of Chinese society, but from the very bottom. The Boxer Uprising which swept across northern China in 1899 and into the capital in 1900, besieging the foreigners in the Legations for 55 days, was a popular movement firmly rooted in peasant society.

The *Yi-he quan* movement, the 'Boxers United in Righteousness', first emerged in the northern

Heavy Chinese guns captured at Dagu. (Author's collection)



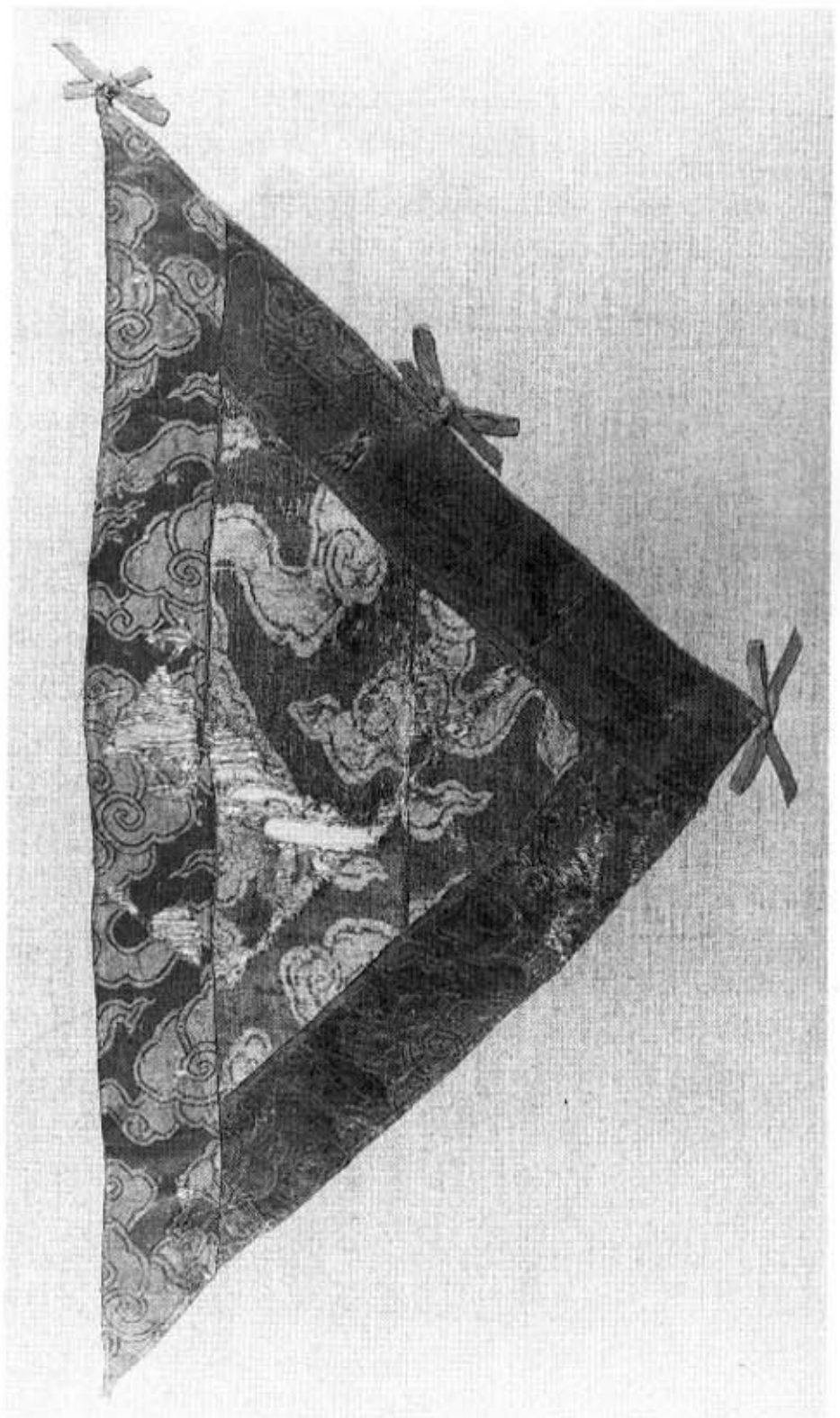
province of Shandong (Shantung) in the spring of 1898. Shandong was a large and impoverished province which had suffered a number of misfortunes. The Taiping armies had raged across it; and in 1898 the Yellow River, which flows through it, burst its banks, killing thousands and depriving millions of their livelihood. Banditry, always an alternative means of support amongst the peasant community in times of hardship, was endemic. Furthermore, Shandong was an area greatly affected by missionary activity, particularly German Catholics of the Society of the Divine Word, whose aggressive methods were deeply unpopular. With the backing of the Imperial Government to support them, the missionaries were able to claim a special status for their converts, and frequently used their influence to interfere with the local administration on their behalf. They therefore attracted a large following from those Chinese at odds with their own authorities, whom the missionaries protected and supported, thus increasing the tensions with orthodox Chinese.

Secret society movements were by no means unusual in China, and the *Yi-he quan* were following an established tradition in which dissatisfaction with Imperial rule was often merged with religious dissension and martial arts techniques to provide a focus for rebellion. In 1896 Shandong itself had seen an uprising by a group called the Big Sword Society, who, however, had been ruthlessly suppressed. The Boxers United in Righteousness (sometimes translated as the 'Righteous and Harmonious Fist') were unusual in that they lacked an element of religious challenge to Confucian orthodoxy. Indeed, they drew their inspiration from the pantheon of popular Chinese gods, and practised a form of spiritual possession whose rituals, involving some *gong-fu* (kung fu) techniques, were easy to learn. Their appeal spread very rapidly among the young peasant men who were most affected by economic hardship and most vocal in their rejection of the influence of the foreigners. Their aims and objects were summed up succinctly in their slogan '*Fu-Quing mie-yang*'—'Support the Qing, destroy the foreign'.

The movement was essentially an egalitarian one; indeed, it was theoretically possible for leadership of Boxer groups to change from day to day, according to the shifts of spirit possession, although

in practice a number of *de facto* leaders did emerge. It was extremely difficult for the Imperial authorities to isolate Boxer leaders, however, and as the movement spread it attracted support within the Court from those who considered the Boxers patriots. The Boxers had no means of acquiring modern arms, and in any case their philosophy rejected all things Western. Instead they were armed with traditional Chinese swords and spears. They began by attacking Christians in Shandong, wrecking such manifestations of the foreign presence as telegraph wires and railway lines, and in the summer of 1900 streamed into Beijing. The Court vacillated and at last decided to support

A Chinese flag captured in 1860. Most Chinese banners, including those of the Boxers, were very large, triangular, and bore patterns rather than inscriptions. (National Army Museum)





A Chinese official and soldiers in Beijing, 1900. The soldiers are wearing typical Chinese military costume: a surcoat with embroidered patch, and a silk hat. (Bryan Maggs)

them, and in June 1900 declared war on the foreign Allies. But their action failed to destroy the Legations and other foreign enclaves, and the Allied response was severe. An international expedition of eight nations was mounted which took Beijing, forced the Dowager Empress to flee, suppressed the Boxers, and at last opened China fully to foreign influence.¹

Chinese armies

Enough has been said, it is hoped, to suggest something of the confusion which beset the Chinese authorities during the 19th century, and this confusion was inevitably demonstrated in her

military organisation. When the Manchus erupted from Manchuria and seized the Imperial throne in 1644 their troops were divided into units under different flags and known as the Eight Banners. The Bannermen became the mainstay of Manchu support, although, as the dynasty became increasingly influenced by the customs and outlook of the native Chinese, the Bannermen were largely indistinguishable from the rest of the population. They were, however, a hereditary army, in which each male descendant of a Manchu was allotted a place and was entitled to draw rations from the Emperor whether he actually served or not. Although they were technically required to practise the Manchu military arts of archery and horsemanship, their military value declined greatly over the generations. Those Chinese troops who had served the Emperor before the arrival of the Manchus were reorganised under the name of the Green Stan-

¹ A full account can be found in MAA 95, *The Boxer Rebellion*, by Lynn E. Bodin, plates by Chris Warner.

dard, and distributed throughout the provincial garrisons to act as a police force. One late 19th-century estimate placed the strength of the Bannermen at over 200,000 and that of the Green Standard at over 500,000, but these figures are artificially high since it was common for officers to pocket the pay of men who only existed on paper.

These were the forces available to the Chinese during the Opium War and the *Arrow* War. Unfortunately British sources seemed uninterested in the nature of the troops opposing them, so it is difficult to determine which sections of the Chinese army were actually engaged. During the *Arrow* War the Chinese at Dagu were under the command of a Manchu general named Sen-ko-lin-ch'in, and included a large number of Manchu troops—presumably Bannermen—who provided his cavalry arm. The British referred to them as

Tartars, and one eye-witness account describes them:

'The Tartars were dressed in the ordinary Chinese hat of black silk, with the brim turned up all round, and had two squirrels' tails projecting from the hat behind, which are the decoration only worn by military men. They had on light coloured jackets over a long under-garment of darker material, and blue trousers tucked into black Tartar boots. They were armed with spears, having red horse-hair hanging from the shaft where it joins the ironwork. They rode in short stirrups, and were mounted on hardy working ponies.'

A company of Boxers in Tianjin, presumably before the start of hostilities. They appear to be wearing red head-scarves and several have red armbands, but otherwise they wear the ordinary costume of the Chinese poor. (Library of Congress)

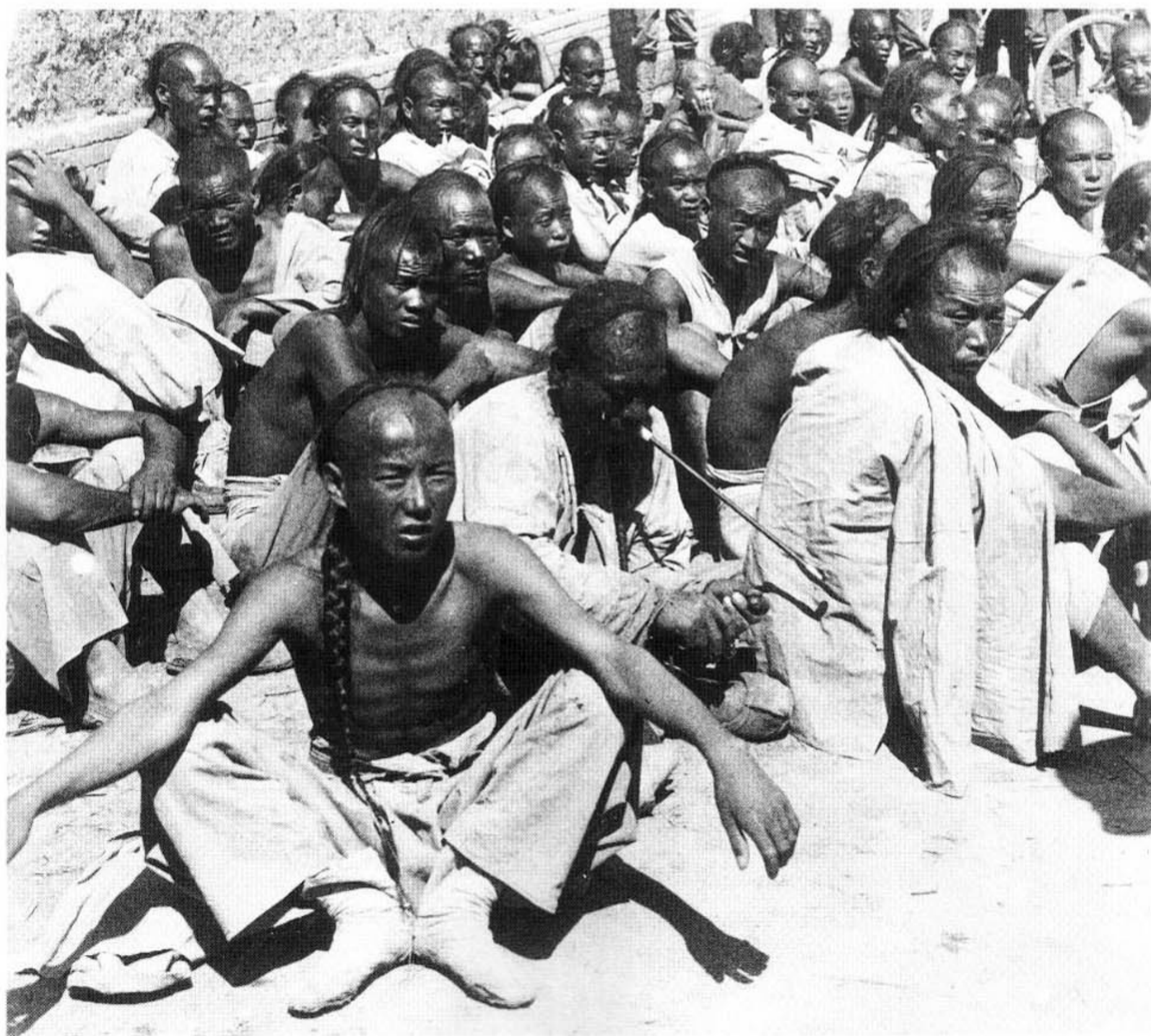


The majority of the Chinese troops wore a jacket of brown or yellow, with a long sleeveless surcoat bearing a circle front and back and Chinese characters denoting their unit and the word *yung* meaning 'courage' or 'brave'. They wore either a silk hat or a turban. Many were armed with matchlocks—a weapon long obsolete in the West—but others carried a variety of Chinese spears, halberds, tridents and swords. The forts at Dagou were protected by emplaced heavy artillery, but maladministration ensured that many had only poor powder and improvised projectiles. One

characteristic Chinese weapon was the *jingal*, a large, heavy, crude breach-loading musket of perhaps 1½ in. calibre, which had to be steadied by either a support, or a rampart, or the shoulder of a willing volunteer. Other Chinese weapons included grenades and 'stinkpots'—earthenware pots filled with powder and containing a fuse—rockets, fired from troughs or tubes like their British counterparts but bearing an iron arrow-head, and bows and arrows.

The Taiping Rebellion provoked a reorganisation of the Chinese forces. To cope with regional outbreaks a local militia was raised, and existed alongside the Green Standard, with much the same duties. Gradually the militia took over from the Green Standard, and was known as the

Boxers captured by US troops at Tianjin. These young peasants are typical of those who flocked to join the *Yi-he quan*. Note that all have the front of their heads shaved and wear the queue. (Library of Congress)

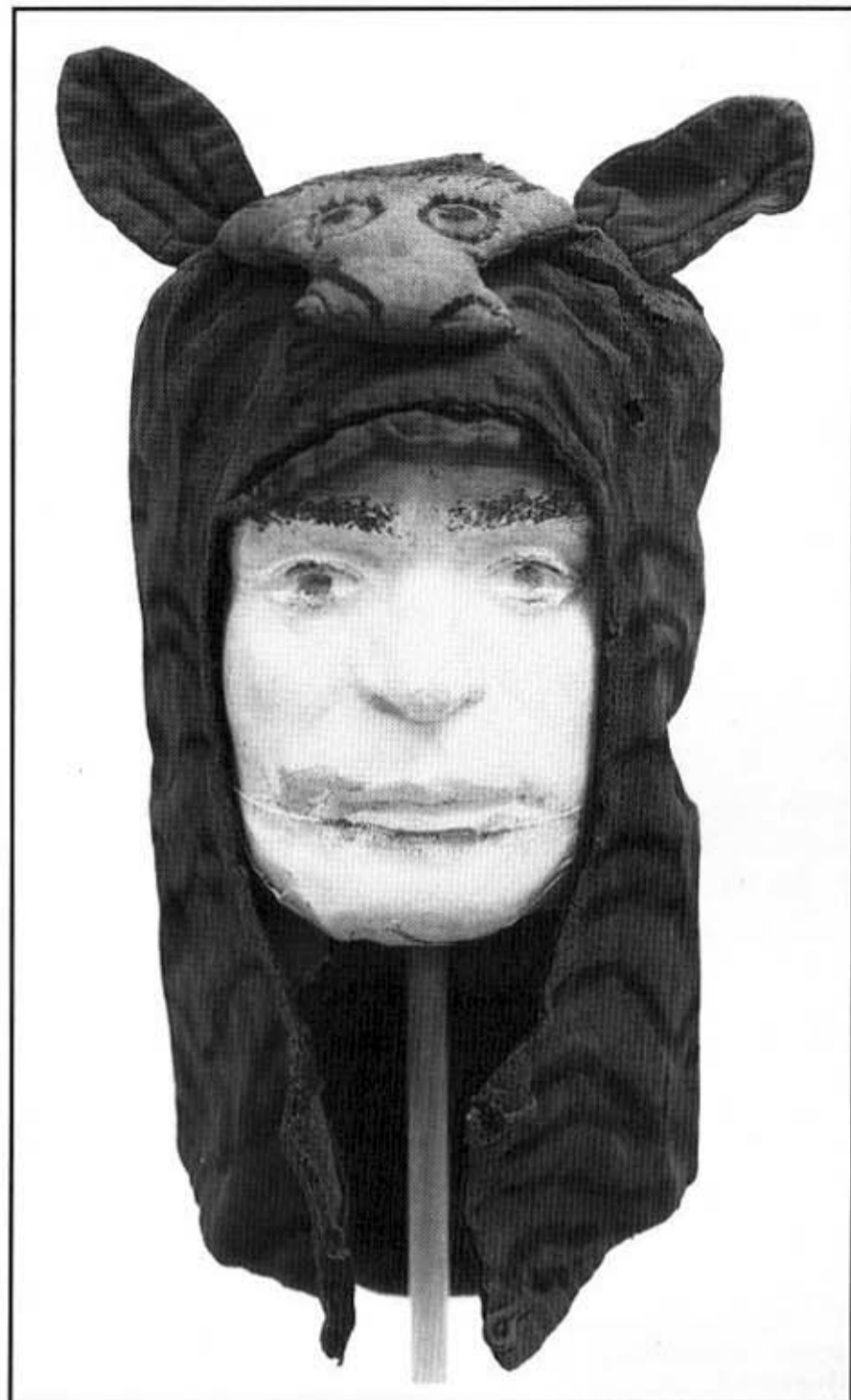


Defence Army. From 1865 the Imperial Government also decided to utilise foreign advisers in an attempt to modernise some of their troops. Attempts were made to form units known as the Disciplined Forces from the Green Standard, but by 1894 a Japanese intelligence report suggested that only three-fifths of the Chinese army was armed with modern firearms, the rest having spears or swords. Photographs of Chinese arsenals in the 1870s show a variety of imported weapon types, but these hardly seem to have made any impact on front-line troops. The establishment from 1885 of academies on Western lines to train officers does not seem to have improved efficiency, as the Chinese showing in the war of 1894 was appalling.

Following the disaster of the Sino-Japanese War, it was obvious even to the Imperial authorities that some attempt would have to be made to create a force organised along modern lines. The result was two armies: the Self-Strengthening Army of Chang Chih-tung, and the Pacification Army of Yuan Shih-K'ai. The Self-Strengthening Army consisted of eight battalions of infantry, two squadrons of cavalry, two brigades of artillery and a company of engineers. They were uniformed in Western style, trained by German officers and NCOs, and armed with German Mauser or Swedish Mannlicher rifles. The Pacification Army, also known as the Newly Created Army, boasted two infantry wings of two and three battalions, four troops of cavalry, an artillery unit with both heavy and quick-firing arms, and support services and engineers. It had a nominal strength of 7,000 men.

Attempts were also made to form new armies from the militia units, although the reorganisation was far from complete at the time of the Boxer rising. The Tenacious Army had 10,000 men

A fusion of Western and traditional Chinese ideas which in many ways typifies the Imperial army of 1900: a rampart rifle, a modern version of the *jingal*. (National Army Museum)



The headdress of a Tigerman, a section of the Manchu Bannerman army which was revived to support the Boxers in 1900. (National Army Museum)

formed into 30 battalions. The Kansu Irregulars were recruited largely from the Moslem population of that province, and were described in contemporary accounts as a disorderly rabble: whilst Sung Ch'ing's Resolute Army numbered about 10,000 men. Many of these troops had Western weapons and some training, but they were not up to the standard of Chang Chih-tung and Yuan Shih-K'ai's men. In 1898 they were



incorporated into a new so-called Guard's Army and stationed in divisions around northern China. A new Centre Division was formed from the Bannermen: the Tenacious Army formed the Front Division, and was stationed near Tianjin (Tientsin); the Resolute Army became the Left Division, the Newly Created Army became the Right Division, and the Kansu troops the Rear Division. In the ensuing fighting the Kansu troops were much engaged about Beijing, whilst the best troops were kept out of action by the careful inactivity of Yuan Shih-K'ai and Chang Chih-tung.

As for the Boxers, some hints have already been given of their organisation. Most wore the ordinary peasant dress of white or blue cotton tunic and trousers, and like all Chinese, they wore the front of their heads shaved and their hair in a queue, a compulsory badge of allegiance to the Manchus instituted generations before. By the time the movement had advanced on Beijing many Boxers sported items in red as badges of their allegiance to the *Yi-ho quan*: either a red head-scarf, a red waist-sash, a red apron, or red ties around the ankles or streamers from their sword hilts. Their leaders wore no distinguishing marks, although a

few affected the dress of Court officials, and the yellow riding jacket worn only by senior Qing commanders. In Beijing, once the Boxers had received the support of the Court, attempts were made to organise them as militia; and distinct units were noted wearing yellow (instead of red) insignia, or black robes with a red bandana. There was even a female group called the Red Lanterns who were intended to provide support for the Boxer soldiers themselves. The evidence suggests that these reforms were scarcely under way, however, when the Uprising was defeated, and most Boxers continued to wear their own clothes throughout.

The Boxers were young, healthy, and keyed-up by their belief in their rituals and the invulnerability which these promised them. In the event, however, they proved no more able to withstand the brutally efficient technology of the 'foreign devils' than their counterparts in the regular army.

Bhutan and Tibet

In an earlier title in this series the British pre-occupation with the security of India's frontiers has already been noted. The north-eastern frontier of British India was anchored in the three Himalayan states of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan.

A wounded Tibetan on the field of Guru. He is wearing civilian costume; note the broadsword, right. (National Army Museum)





Beyond them lay the high, remote, impenetrable tableland of Tibet, which exerted a mysterious and exotic fascination, but about which almost nothing was known. No threat in itself, Tibet was a source of Imperial concern because, like Afghanistan in the west, it offered a potential doorway to India for Russia.

In 1864 Britain moved to secure her position in Bhutan. A series of frontier violations provided an excuse for British and Indian troops to cross into Bhutan. The Bhutanese were not well organised, and were largely armed with matchlocks—a later photograph of the king of Bhutan's body-guard shows them wearing striped baggy robes, and carrying round Indian shields and straight swords—but they put up a spirited resistance. The town of Dewangiri in western Bhutan was occupied in December 1864, but the garrison was subsequently attacked with such vigour that it was forced to abandon its post and retreat to India. In

Captured Tibetan troops after the battle of Guru. (Bryan Maggs)

March 1865 a second campaign was mounted which systematically reduced the Bhutanese stockades, reoccupied Dewangiri, and, after the manner of such punitive forays, destroyed it before retiring to escape the rainy season. The upshot was a new treaty which recognised British interests in the area.

Tibet continued to be a source of concern to the Raj throughout the remainder of the century, however. There were frequent skirmishes along its ill-defined borders, and the 13th Dalai Lama, the country's spiritual and temporal leader, maintained a lofty indifference to British protestations from his palace at the capital Lhasa. Tibet was nominally a province of the Chinese empire, although the Manchus held it in only minimal control, and the Dalai Lama steadfastly ignored Anglo-Chinese accords on the subject. Then, in

1900, rumours spread throughout India that Russia was intent on moving into Tibet. In view of Russian activity in the Far East, and the collapse of Chinese power following the Boxer Uprising, the rumours seemed plausible. A Russian delegation was reportedly making its way to Lhasa. Apparently unaware of the similarities with the events which led to the Second Afghan War, the British demanded that the Dalai Lama receive an equal delegation from them. Lhasa failed to respond.

The subsequent campaign actually falls chronologically outside Queen Victoria's reign, but in spirit was very much a part of it. A diplomatic mission escorted by over a thousand British and Indian soldiers was gathered on the Tibetan border in December 1903, with orders to march into Tibet and force the Tibetans to come to suitable terms. It was faced with tremendous practical difficulties, marching over some of the highest passes in the world, and it was to be bedevilled by disagreements between the envoy, Col. Younghusband, and the commander of his escort, and by irresolution on the part of the home and Indian governments.

On the whole, the Tibetan army was the least of its problems. There were rumours rife amongst the British that the Tibetans had been armed and trained by the Russians, but when the Tibetan army blocked their advance at Guru at the end of March 1904 it was found to consist of a peasant levy armed with matchlocks and broadswords. The Tibetan position lay behind a stone wall which blocked part—but not all—of the track, and one flank was anchored in hills which had been fortified with stone *sangars*. As the British approached a Tibetan delegation came to meet them. It included two generals, from Lhasa and Shigatse, in yellow and green coats respectively, and wearing embroidered mitres. Most of the Tibetan soldiers were dressed in grey sheepskin robes, however. The Tibetans asked the British to halt; they replied they could not, and advanced steadily right up to the Tibetan position. For a moment it looked as if there would be no fighting, but the Tibetans refused to disperse, and attempts to make them do so led to a scuffle and an exchange of shots. The ensuing battle was little more than a massacre: Tibetan fire was ineffectual in the face of the British Maxims and Lee-Metfords. The

Tibetans sullenly withdrew, leaving their dead strewn behind them; of an initial force of roughly 1,500, between 600 and 700 were killed. British killed and wounded numbered less than a dozen.

The 'battle' at Guru set the pattern for future fighting: although the Tibetans were brave, they were hopelessly outclassed. The British column halted at the hamlet of Chango-Lo opposite the Tibetan fortress of Gyantse, but when Tibetan troops were said to be mustering further along the road to Lhasa a flying column was sent out to intercept them. No sooner had it left than a further Tibetan force swept down from the north and launched a surprise night-attack on Chang-Lo. Preceded by a howling war-cry—described by one who heard it as a 'hyena concert'—the Tibetans rushed up and poked their matchlocks through the loopholes of the British position. But the loop-holes had been built for Sikhs, who were taller than the Tibetans, and so proved too high for them to fire through; when the British had gathered their wits their return fire drove the Tibetans off with fearful casualties.

A day or two later the advanced party found a Tibetan army skilfully emplaced behind stone walls across a narrow valley and reinforced with *jingals*. The British commander despatched parties of Indian troops, including Gurkhas, to scale the valley walls on either side of the Tibetan position, and their enfilading fire soon forced the Tibetans to retreat. The Tibetans remained in possession of the fort at Gyantse, however, from which their *jingals* were able to fire into the position at Chang-Lo.

More British troops were marched up from India; and on 6 July, in the face of some Tibetan resistance, the fort was stormed. Within a month the expedition was in Lhasa. The Dalai Lama fled at its approach, but, with the assistance of the Chinese representative, the Tibetans signed a treaty accepting British influence. The troops soon tired of the mysteries of Lhasa, which, apart from the splendid Potala temple, they found squalid and impoverished. No Russian guns were found in the armoury, and the rumours of Russian influence were found to be a myth. Even as the expedition gratefully began the long march home, the British government queried its usefulness and declined to ratify Younghusband's treaty.

Burma

The Kingdom of Burma, based at Ava on the central reaches of the River Irrawaddy, lay in a strategic position which caused the British some disquiet. Most importantly, it formed India's eastern boundary, and was 'regarded by the Supreme Government as part of the *glacis* encircling Indian lines of defence'; secondly, it offered a potential route to the anticipated riches of China. Ava, at the beginning of the 19th century, was militarily robust, and followed an expansionist philosophy which seemed to threaten India itself. Its soldiers had marched into the Indian border states of Chittagong and Assam; and when attempting to gauge Ava's mood, the British found the Burmese attitude to diplomatic and commercial contact to be unpredictable and frustrating.

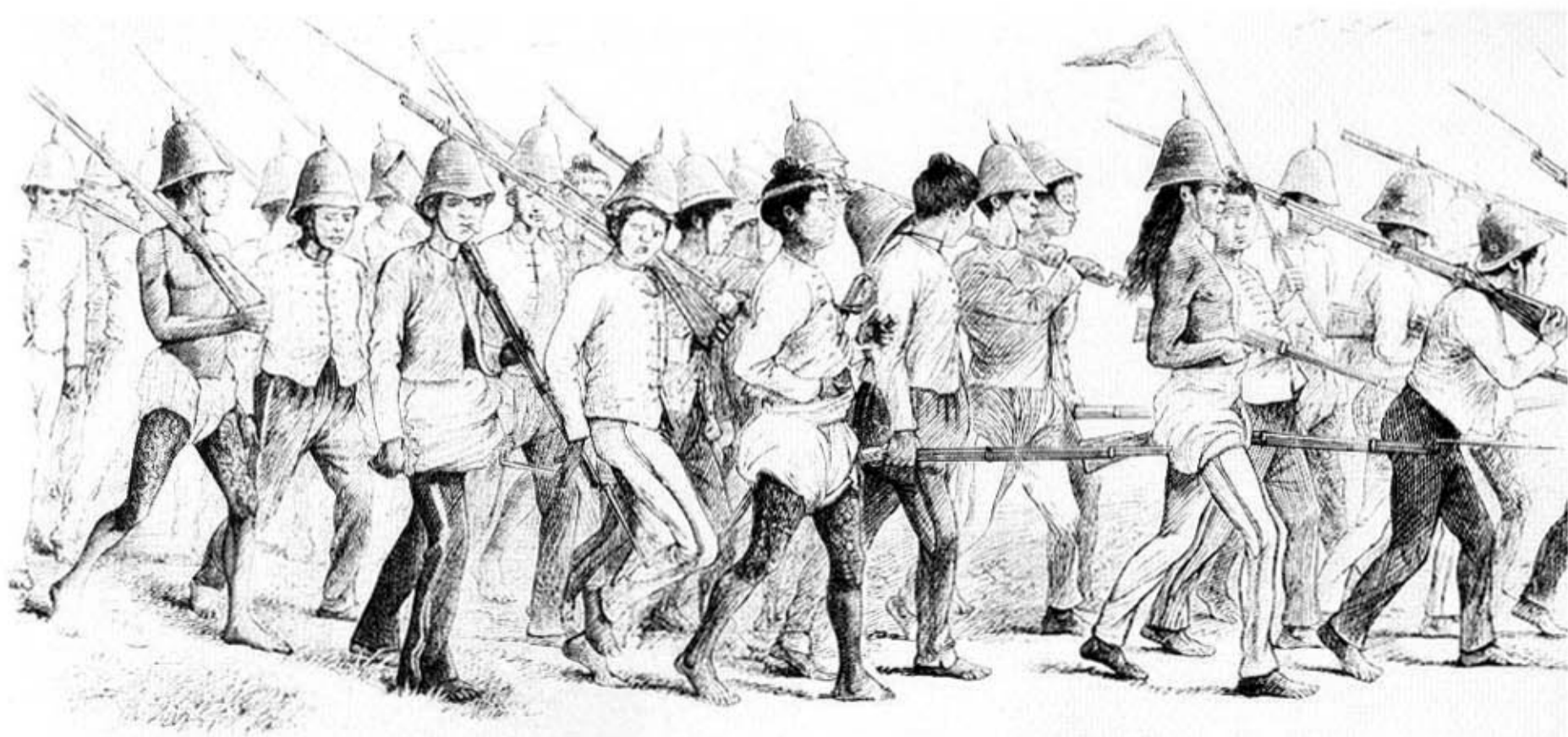
In 1824 a dispute over an East India Company trading post had led to a full-scale war which was intended to bring the Burmese into line; but they proved tenacious fighters, and the conflict was bloody. It won the British some territorial concessions, but once the troops had withdrawn Ava behaved as if its position remained unchanged.

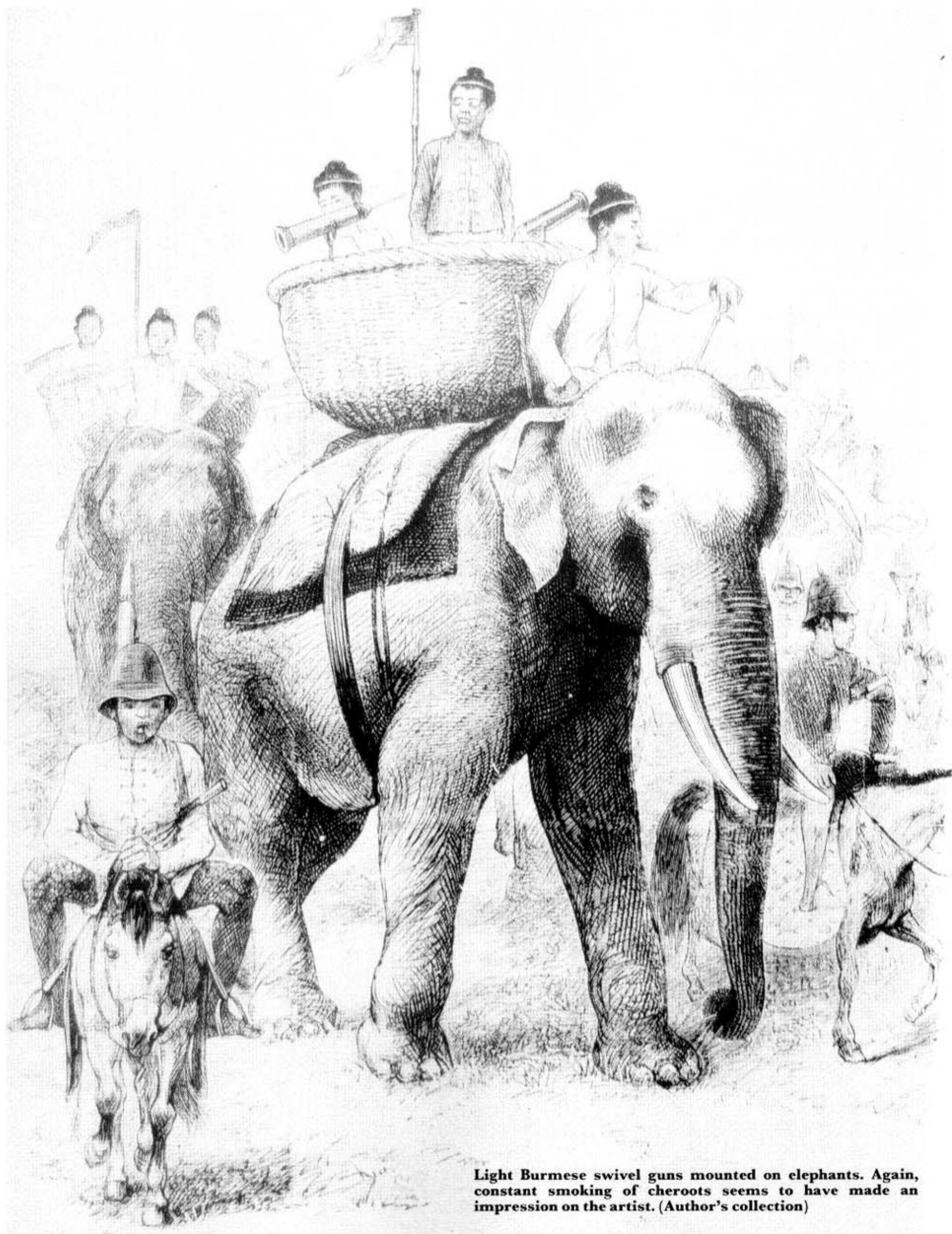
So difficult did the British find this that one representative's reaction to a dispute was to order Navy ships to open fire on Burmese stockades on the Irrawaddy. The result was the Second Burma War of 1852, which neither side seemed to be ready

to fight; however, British troops with Naval protection sailed up the Irrawaddy and reduced Burmese entrenchments at the Shwe Dagon Pagoda and at Martaban. Ava refused to accept the reality of defeat, so the British simply annexed Lower Burma—the area around the Irrawaddy delta which includes Rangoon—and retained an army of occupation there. This was not an entirely satisfactory arrangement from the British point of view, and Anglo-Burmese relations began to deteriorate following the accession of Thibaw as king of Ava in 1878.

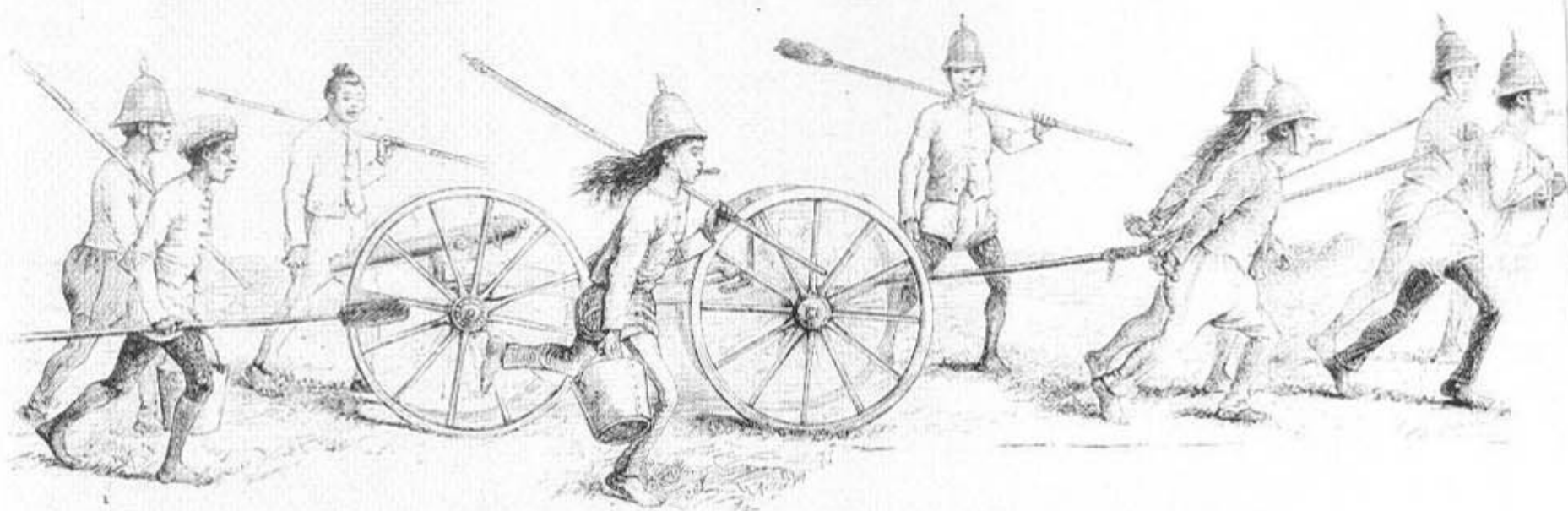
Thibaw's reign was marked by capricious blood-letting and, worse, by an apparent even-handedness when dealing with rival European trade concessionaries. In 1885 Thibaw signed a commercial treaty with the French which raised the spectre of French interference so near to India, and sent a thrill of horror through London and Calcutta. Britain moved to annex what remained of the Kingdom of Ava. The resultant campaign, which inspired Kipling's poem '*The Road to Mandalay*', was described by one observer as 'not a war at all—merely a street row'. Once more the British steamed up the arterial Irrawaddy, overcoming the only serious Burmese resistance at Minhla, where British and Indian troops stormed the stockades and drove the defenders out under a hail

Regular Burmese infantry on the march, 1879. (Author's collection)



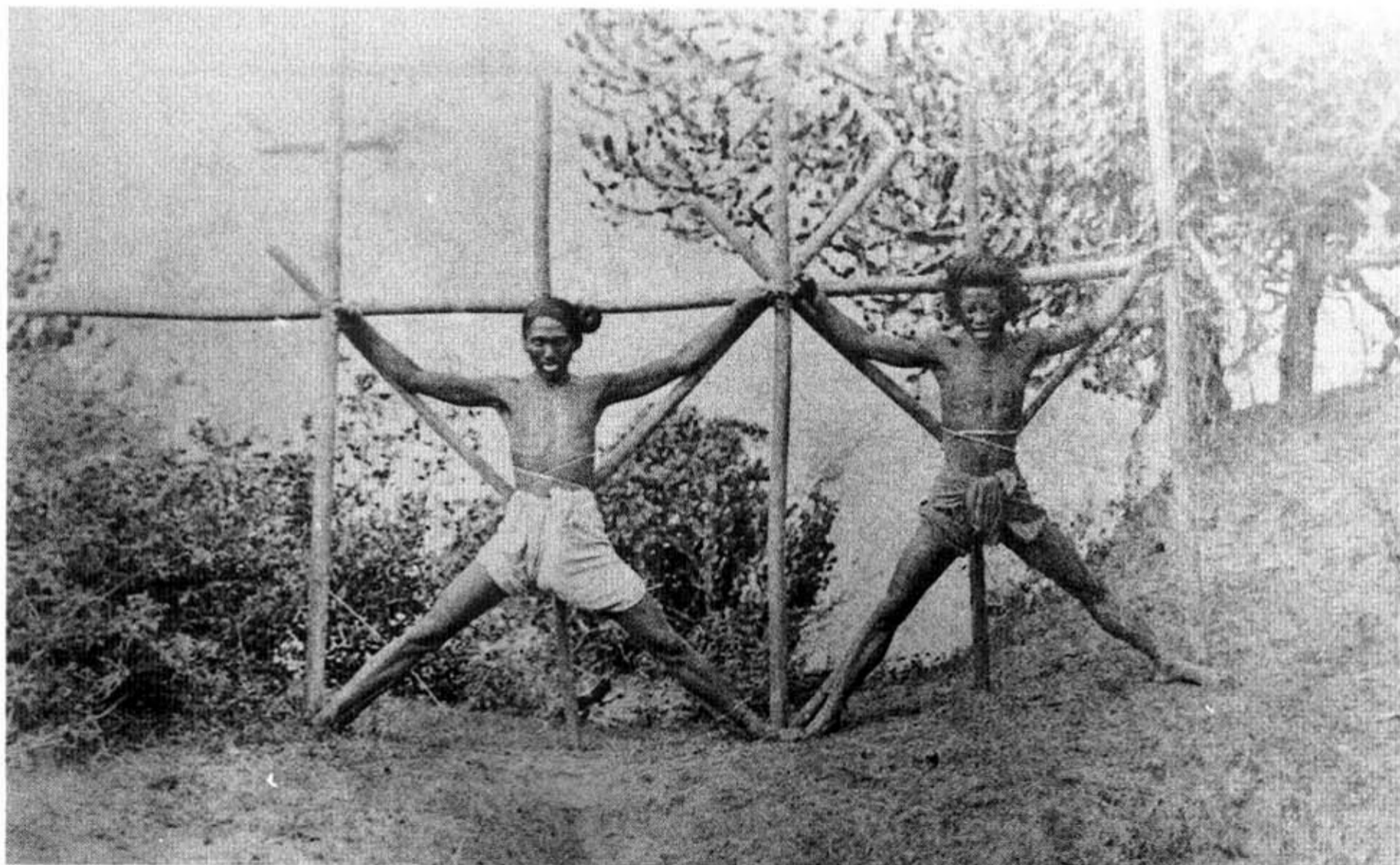


Light Burmese swivel guns mounted on elephants. Again, constant smoking of cheroots seems to have made an impression on the artist. (Author's collection)



Burmese artillery, 1879. (Author's collection)

Crucified *dacoits*; this picture may be posed, but crucifixion was a traditional judicial execution in Burma. (Bryan Maggs)



of fire, before occupying Mandalay on 28 October. Thibaw surrendered and was sent into exile, and Britain annexed Upper Burma. The victory proved illusory, however, since the defeated Burmese troops took to the jungle and joined existing bands of *dacoits*, or bandits, who waged a guerrilla war against the invaders into the 1890s. On two occasions they set fire to Mandalay, and for several years after the occupation they ranged unchecked through the jungle mountains which made up much of the country. They were only suppressed by a long and costly war of attrition.

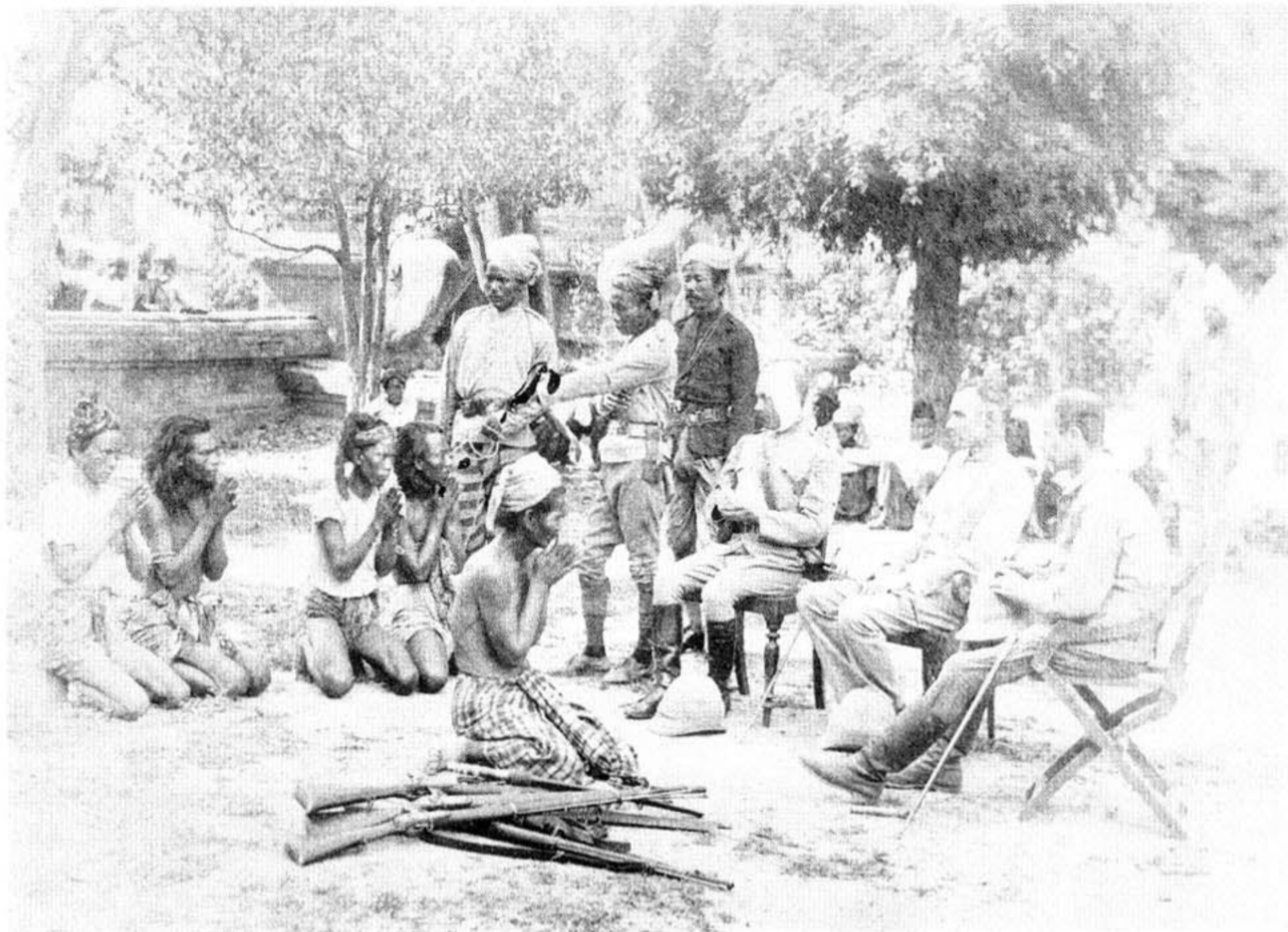
In 1824 the British invaders were much impressed by the skill of the Burmese in building fortifications. They constructed large, well-built stockades of bamboo and teak, screened by rifle pits. The regular Burmese army seems to have declined in strength and efficiency throughout the 19th century, but a description from a few years before the war of 1885 reveals it to have consisted of infantry, cavalry and artillery arms. The infantry were armed for the most part with muskets,

though some had spears and officers carried European swords. The cavalry were mounted on small hardy ponies and carried the native *dah* sword, which had a narrow blade about 18 ins. long, and was carried in a scabbard from a sling over the shoulder. The artillery consisted of a variety of field pieces, with a large number of light swivel guns, some of them mounted on elephants.

Most of the men were peasant levies and poorly trained, but they seem to have been well acquainted with firearms, and were courageous when well led. The uniform of the regular troops consisted of a well-made bamboo helmet lacquered red, with a white spike on top; a coloured tunic, and trousers with a stripe. There seems to have been little uniformity of colouring, and many soldiers seem to have worn the *pulsoe*, the everyday loincloth of civilian Burmese, either over or instead of their trousers. In 1885 the army had an estimated strength of 20,000, but probably did not exceed 15,000. Supplies of provisions, ammunition and equipment were erratic, and pay was often greatly in arrears. As a result, many discontented soldiers had already slipped away to join the *dacoits*.

A group of captured *dacoits* in typical costume. Note the muskets and *dah* swords in the foreground. (Bryan Maggs)





'Trial of Prisoners'; one of a series of posed photographs entitled 'Dacoit hunting' which nevertheless accurately reflects the appearance of the Burmese guerrillas. (Bryan Maggs)

The East Indies

Although dismissed as bandits, the *dacoits* were a symptom of Burma's maladministration and the difficult nature of the country. Many were simply robbers who preyed on unarmed villagers, whilst others had a variety of grievances against the Ava regime. After the British invasion they were joined by Burmese patriots, soldiers who refused to accept defeat, and royalists seeking to restore Thibaw's rule. This miscellany came together under leaders who called themselves *bos*, 'colonels'. Armed with muskets and *dah* swords, and able to survive in steaming jungle environments that were impenetrable to European troops, they were a formidable guerrilla enemy. Photographs of captured *dacoits* show them wearing their hair long, often tied up in a bun and covered by a turban. They wore white cotton tunics and white or chequered loincloths and cloaks.

At the beginning of the 19th century the Dutch enjoyed a monopoly of trade in the East Indies; yet by the end of the century the British had supplanted them. The British and Dutch were nominal allies, but the British East India Company had cast an envious eye over the Malay archipelago, seeking a secure port en route to the fabled wealth of China. It was left to an adventurous Company employee, Thomas Stamford Raffles, to secure a British toe-hold in the region. Taking advantage of the shifting alliances of the Napoleonic Wars, Raffles led a Company invasion of Java in 1811, but at the cessation of hostilities an international treaty stipulated that it should be returned to the Dutch. Nothing daunted, Raffles returned in 1819 and persuaded a local sultan to give him title to Singapore Island at the extreme southerly tip of the Malayan peninsula. Ignoring Dutch protests,



A group of Iban, or Sea Dyaks, in traditional costume. (Author's collection)

Raffles turned Singapore into a secure base from which to extend British influence in the area.

Raffles' example was emulated by James Brooke, who was determined to secure part of Borneo. Borneo was nominally under the control of Moslem Malay sultans, but the mountainous jungle interior was the home of the indigenous Dyak tribes—the Klemantan, Murut, Kayans, Kenyahs, Punans and the coastal Iban, or Sea Dyaks. The Dyaks lived in communal 'longhouses' raised on stilts, and were traditionally head-hunters. The Ibans, who lived mainly around the lower reaches of the rivers of Sarawak in northern Borneo, had a particularly fearsome reputation. When Brooke arrived off the coast of Borneo in 1838 he found the Dyaks in revolt against the suzerainty of the Sultanate of Brunei. Brooke immediately offered his services to the sultan and, with a mixture of severity and kindness typical of the age, forced the Dyaks to submit. Thus began a

long involvement in Borneo which would eventually see Brooke installed as the 'White Rajah of Sarawak'.

Piracy was endemic in the Malay archipelago, with both Malayan and Iban pirate ships, long-oared boats known as *prahus*, preying on peaceful shipping, robbing, killing and enslaving. Brooke began a concerted campaign to suppress piracy which lasted throughout the 1840s. In this he was supported by Capt. Henry Keppel of the Royal Navy and his ship HMS *Dido*. Naval landing parties, supported by Dyaks recruited by Brooke, sought out the pirate stockades among Borneo's remote creeks and coves, and stormed them one by one, until by 1849 there were no pirates left on the island.

For the most part the spread of British control in the East Indies was accomplished peacefully, by economic rather than military means. In 1875, however, the British intervened directly when a succession dispute in Perak cost the life of a British Resident. Perak was a tin-rich sultanate on the west coast of Malaya, which teetered on the brink of anarchy when the ruler died in 1871. The British proposed ending the subsequent squabble in the sultan's family by making their Resident, James Birch, *de facto* ruler. But Birch was over-zealous and profoundly blind to local sensitivities, and his attempts to raise taxes led to his murder by a group of assassins armed with Malaya's traditional weapon, the *kris* knife. Birch's murder provoked a strong response, and over 1,000 troops were despatched to Perak from India. The resultant campaign was brief and thorough; the Malaysians were defeated and three of their chiefs hanged. Though an investigating commission later admitted that Birch's demise had been largely his own fault, the Perak war had served to secure British interests in the area. By 1914 all of the independent sultanates in Malaya had accepted British Residents.

New Zealand

In 1642 the explorer Abel Tasman, sailing round the coast of New Zealand, noticed a crowd of natives singing and dancing on the shore. Thinking this to be some sort of greeting, he fired his ship's guns in salute. He then sent a party ashore in

a longboat which, to his horror, was intercepted by native canoes, and his men attacked and murdered. As a first meeting between the Maori and *pakeha*, or white man, this exchange held many of the elements of misunderstanding and tragedy which were to dog future contact between the races. By dancing a *peru peru*, or war-dance, the Maoris had been issuing a challenge to Tasman which, by his broadside, they understood him to have accepted.

Initial European settlement of New Zealand had been unregulated; the more open and approachable bays became the haunt of passing whalers, and spawned small, disorganised communities which catered for their needs. When they interacted with the Maoris these settlements usually introduced to them the delights of guns, liquor, prostitution and European diseases. All of the North Island and most of the South were claimed as hereditary lands by Maori tribes, but many of the less accessible or amenable areas were underworked, and to the whites it seemed that New Zealand was thinly populated. In the early decades of the 19th century immigration from



Wiremu te Manewha, a Maori chief who fought in the First Maori War. He is wearing a flax cloak decorated with thongs, and carrying a *patu pounamu*, a green-stone club. Note the facial tattooing. (Alexander Turnbull Library)



Britain was at its height; the European population of New Zealand swelled, and many Maoris found it easy to sell off under-utilised parcels of land. Yet the whites and the Maoris fundamentally misunderstood one another in these exchanges: to the whites the purchase was permanent and inalienable, whilst the Maoris held all land to be in collective ownership, and only intended to sell the rights to live on and work the land for a period. The matter was further complicated by often complex and contradictory tribal claims which the whites seldom bothered to explore.

The result was a series of conflicts of increasing severity, known to the British as the Maori Wars, and to the Maoris as *Te Riri Pakeha*, 'the white man's anger' (or, more recently and significantly, the Land Wars). For the most part these were a succession of regional campaigns as each Maori

Hone Heke (centre), the principal Maori leader in the First Maori War, and his ally Kawiti (right). (Rex Nan Kivell Collection, National Library of Australia, Canberra)

tribe came up against the vanguard of European expansion, and made a stand. The first outbreak occurred in 1843 and set the pattern for future fighting. The Maoris were experts in constructing defensive earthworks known as *pas*, and once a tribe had decided to embark on a campaign it would construct a *pa* and bid the enemy come and attack it. With linked entrenchments and wooden screens draped with flax to deaden the effect of shells, the *pa* was a formidable obstacle, but it seldom withstood prolonged assault by disciplined troops.

By 1846 the hostile Maori strongholds had been reduced one by one, and the First Maori War was over. *Pakeha* land-hunger was unabated, however.

Chief Te Hapurona of the Atiawa tribe, who defended the Te Arei ('The Barrier') *pa* against British attack in February and March 1861. He is holding a typical wooden striking weapon, a *taiaha*. (Alexander Turnbull Library)



A remarkable life-sized sculpture by Ray Dawson showing the headdress of an *ariki* war-chief. He has *huia* feathers in his hair, and wears a shark's tooth, a bone pendant, and a black trade ribbon in his pierced ear, and a carved *tiki* charm around his neck. (Tim Ryan)

Throughout the 1850s there were various Maori movements aimed at presenting a united front against the whites, but when war came again in 1860—invariably provoked by a disputed land claim—it remained essentially regional. Although some warriors crossed into the territory of neighbouring tribes to support them, the fighting was largely a series of often unco-ordinated local outbreaks. By the mid-1860s the strongest tribes had been subdued, and there was a shift in the nature of the fighting away from set-piece struggles around *pas* towards free-ranging guerrilla warfare in the bush, where the Maoris were able to use their reduced numbers and elusiveness to greater advantage.

In 1864 a Maori movement known as *Pai*

Marire, 'the good and gentle', sprang up. Originally a mixture of Christianity and Maori beliefs intended to promote friendship between the races, it soon became bitterly disillusioned and anti-European. Adherents of the cult, known to the whites as *Hauhaus* from a chant, 'Hau! Hau!', which formed part of their rituals, prolonged the fighting after the withdrawal of regular British troops in the late 1860s; and it was not until 1872 that the last Maori guerrilla, Te Kooti Rikirangi, retired from the field and signalled the close of the fighting.

The Maoris had a distinct military code long before the arrival of the *pakeha*. Chiefs were acutely conscious of their *mana*, or personal power and prestige. Any insult to a man's *mana*, or any other transgression, would call for *utu*, a payment in kind or revenge. *Utu* could be satisfied at the expense of any member of the offender's tribe, which of course provoked further feuds in response, and some Maori tribes were locked in a cycle of retribution which went on for generations. The Maoris had no standing army, but each man was a *toa* or warrior, according to his inclination and prowess. In war the Maoris fought as a tribe (*iwi*) or, more often, a sub-tribe (*hapu*). Maori armies were seldom large—even in the largest battles of the 1860s they did not field more than 1,500 men at a time, and sometimes particular bands were quite small. Titokowaru, one of the most dynamic of the guerrilla leaders, began his campaigns with only 60 followers. In battle they were led by an *ariki* or chief, usually the eldest male of the dominant tribal lineage, but sometimes a relative whose *mana* as a warrior was greater. Not until the final stages of the wars did the Maoris begin to lose respect for traditional leaders and to turn instead to commoners, such as Te Kooti, whose reputation as warriors overrode their low tribal rank.

In battle the Maori was an individualistic fighter, and personal challenge formed a strong part of his military outlook. Before the arrival of the whites the Maoris had a few long-range weapons, and most battles were fought at close quarters with a variety of hand-to-hand weapons. These chiefly consisted of a selection of flat, ground clubs of stone or whalebone, the edges honed to razor sharpness, and a variety of two-handed wooden striking weapons. Unlike many of Queen

Victoria's enemies the Maoris were quick to appreciate the value of firearms, and even by the start of the First Maori War had acquired large numbers of antiquated firearms, many of them ex-Napoleonic Wars 'Brown Bess' flintlocks dumped on unsophisticated markets across the world when they became obsolete. The Maori called his flintlock *ngutu-parera*, 'the duck's bill', from the shape of the cock, and often decorated the stock with ornately carved patterns. Ammunition was carried in improvised cartouche boxes made of drilled wooden blocks wrapped round with a flap of leather. In the 1860s the *tupara*, or double-barrelled percussion shot-gun, became popular; its increased rate of fire and spread of shot were particularly effective in the misty and claustro-

A warrior in the typical fighting dress of the 1860s—a decorated flax cloak around the waist and a percussion rifle. (Tim Ryan)



phobic conditions of the bush. Nevertheless, acquiring sufficient guns, ammunition and spares remained a problem for the Maoris throughout the wars. Bullets had to be improvised, powder was of

An excellent study of a Maori warrior of the 1860s carrying a *tupara* double-barrelled shot-gun, and wearing a dog-skin cape over a decorated flax cloak. (Hawke's Bay Museum and Art Gallery)



poor quality, and percussion caps were in such short supply that they often had to be made from match-heads fitted into boot eyelets. As a result the Maoris had to endure a much higher rate of misfires than their British counterparts.

Contact with Europeans introduced other weapons too, notably the iron axe-head. These were sold by traders without handles, so the Maoris made their own. Some were made into short tomahawks, called *patiti*, while others were mounted on a long haft and called *kakauroa*. Since many young warriors could not obtain firearms, these axes, together with traditional clubs, remained in use throughout the wars.

Traditionally, many *toa* went into battle naked for easier movement. Otherwise male dress consisted of a kilt, *maro*, either of flax (a fibrous plant from which the Maoris made most of their clothing), or black cords. Heavy flax cloaks, dipped in water to make them impervious to spear-thrusts, were sometimes worn as protection, and chiefs wore cloaks decorated with patterned borders and a variety of skins and feathers. By the 1860s European clothing was much in vogue, gradually replacing traditional wear. Waistcoats were particularly popular, since the pockets could be used to carry spare ammunition; and the *rapaki*, or blanket wrapped around the waist like a kilt, had all but replaced the *maro*.

A striking feature of the Maori warrior was the *moko*, or facial tattoo. This was a series of raised scars, coloured with blue pigment, which swirled around the contours of the face exaggerating the features. Each *moko* was unique, and although it was not an indication of rank, the tattooing process was painful and a *moko* did embody something of a man's *mana*. The head, indeed, was the most sacred (*tapu*) part of the body, and the heads of fallen warriors were highly prized trophies: they were cut off and smoke-dried by the victors. Ritual cannibalism—the taking into himself by the victor of some of the dead warrior's *mana*—was also a feature of tribal warfare; it had died out by the 1840s, but was revived as a terror tactic by the guerrilla leader Titokowaru. Maori men wore their hair long, usually tied up in a bun to show off their *moko*. By the 1860s facial tattooing began to die out among young warriors, who grew beards instead. The early practice of *rape*, tattooing on the

Chinese, 1840s/1860s

1: Manchu cavalryman

2: Matchlock man

3: Chinese official or officer



Chinese, 1900
1: Chinese regular
2: Tigerman
3,4: Boxer rebels



Burmese, 1885

- 1: Regular cavalryman
- 2: Regular infantryman
- 3: Dacoit



Maoris, 1840s

1,2: Warriors

3: Chief Hone Heke Pokai of the Ngapuhi tribe



Maoris, 1860-70

1: Warrior, 1860s

2: Chief

3: Warrior, late 1860s





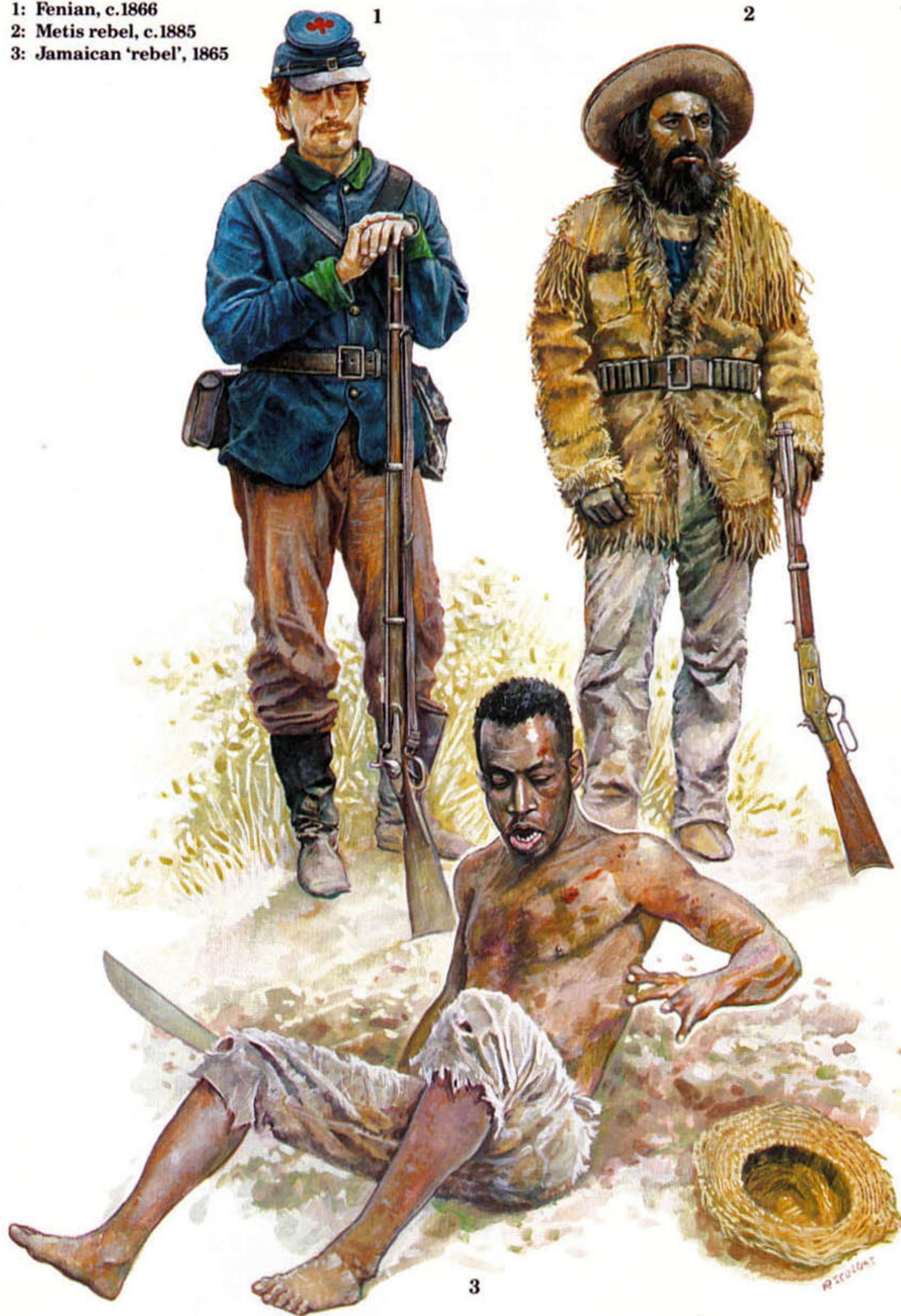
Australia
1: Aboriginal warrior
2: 'Digger', Eureka stockade, 1854
3: Ned Kelly

The Americas

1: Fenian, c.1866

2: Metis rebel, c.1885

3: Jamaican 'rebel', 1865

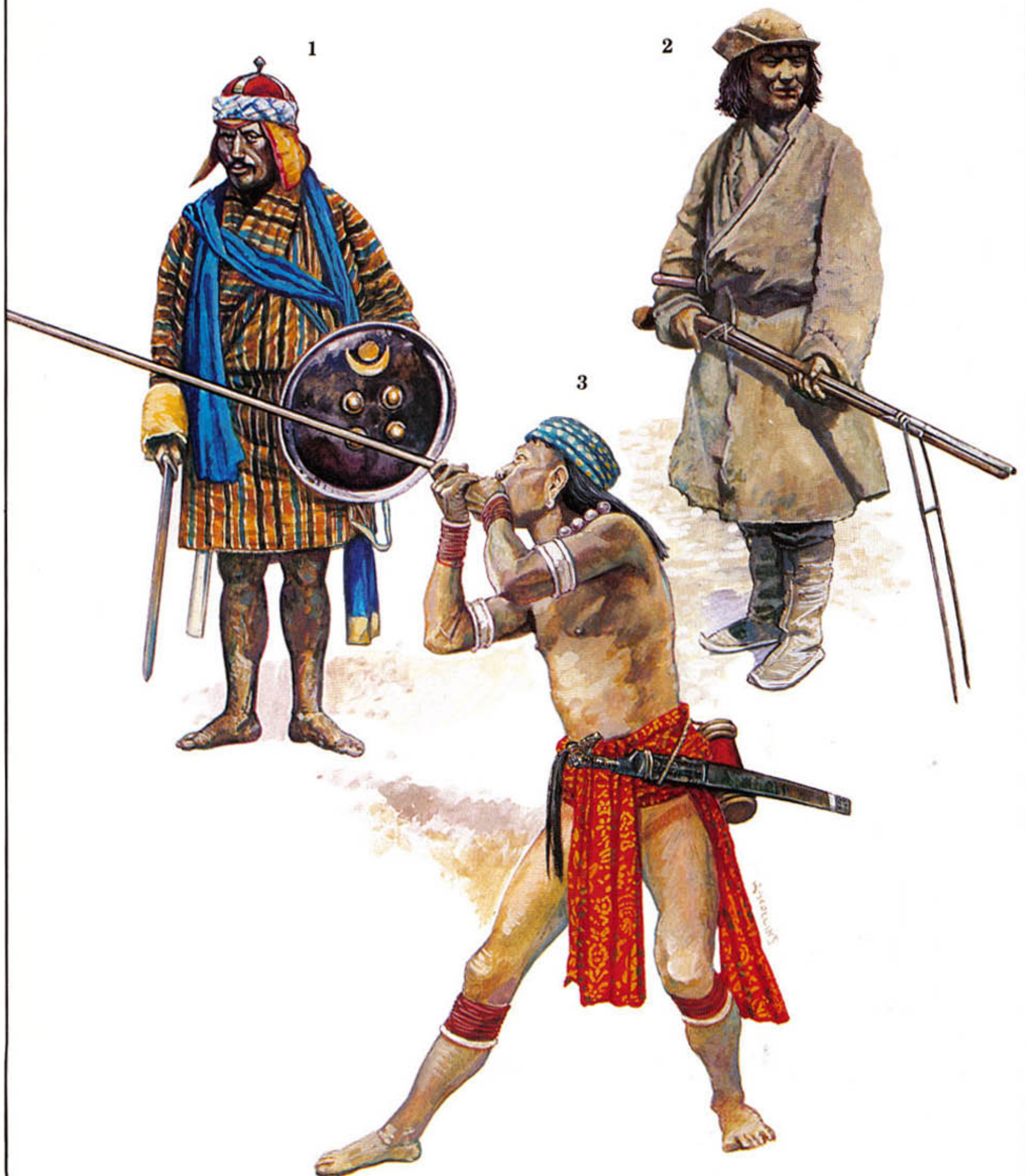


Miscellaneous warriors

1: Bhutanese warrior, c.1865

2: Tibetan soldier, 1904

3: Iban or Sea Dyak warrior, c.1840



buttocks and thighs, also fell into disuse with the adoption of Western clothing.

The Maori talent for building fortified emplacements or *pas* has already been mentioned. In pre-European times the *pa* was almost unassailable, but it still held its own in the age of artillery. *Pas* usually consisted of a complex network of interconnecting trenches and parapets concealing a number of underground bomb-proof shelters, their approaches screened by rifle-pits, and with carefully concealed escape passages. They were often protected by a double row of palisades about 30 ins. apart; the outer screen was often covered with flax mats attached to the uprights but leaving a gap at the bottom. The defenders, crouching in trenches behind the inner palisade, thereby had a narrow firing slit and an uninterrupted view at ground level. By the 1860s a double palisade was often dispensed with in favour of a single fence

Te Kanapu, a warrior in the 1860s, wearing a flax shawl decorated with dog-hair. Note the stone club in his waist-belt. (Alexander Turnbull Library)



which served as an obstacle rather than a barrier, and slowed the advancing troops at a range where the Maori fire was most effective. Sometimes, if wood was not readily available, a *pa* might consist of trenches and ramparts alone. Although taking *pas* became a major element in British strategy, the Maoris themselves adopted purely pragmatic tactics: they would defend a *pa* long enough to inflict maximum casualties, then, once it became untenable, abandon it and build another elsewhere.

Another military practice the Maoris adopted from their *pakeha* enemy was the use of war flags. Many Maori tribes adopted their own flags which were flown over *pas* or used on recruiting marches. The *Hauhaus* believed that the Union Flag had enormous *mana* of its own, and so adopted flags into their rituals to counter it. Most Maori war flags were oblongs of varying sizes, with bold colours, and often incorporating crosses, stars or half-moon devices. The guerrilla leader Te Kooti had a number of flags, the most famous of which was *Te Wepu*, 'the whip', which was bright red, 52 feet long, and decorated with various stars and symbols. It had originally been made for a friendly tribe by Catholic nuns, and was captured by Te Kooti in 1868. It was later taken from him by Colonial troops.

Throughout the wars the Maoris proved brave and tenacious fighters. At times ruthless and savage, they could on occasion be chivalrous and humorous, and they earned a rare respect amongst the British soldiers who fought against them.

Australia

Officially, the British government regarded Australia as a 'settled' colony rather than a 'conquered' one; the distinction was significant, since underlying it was the assumption that Australia was empty at the time of the arrival of the first whites in the 18th century. This decision effectively deprived the indigenous inhabitants, the Aborigines, of any legal rights to their own land, and ignored a century of conflict which is estimated to have cost the lives of as many as 2,000 whites and 20,000 Aborigines.

The Aborigines lived a simple nomadic lifestyle



A skirmish in the bush—an image which typifies much of the fighting of the later Maori campaigns. Note that the warriors have tomahawks thrust in the back of their belts. (Taranaki Museum)

characterised by a close physical and spiritual relationship with the land. They did not understand European concepts of land ownership, and tended to regard European stock as a legitimate addition to their food source. In return the whites, many of them ex-convicts brutalised by their own harsh experiences, regarded the Aborigines as a nuisance, and resented the depletion of their herds. As the frontiers of European settlement expanded from the 1830s, a pattern of conflict emerged where Aborigines and settlers first came into contact. Edward Curr, a squatter and anthropologist, described the nature of this warfare in the 1880s:

‘In the first place the meeting of the Aboriginal tribes of Australia and the white pioneer results as a rule in war, which lasts from six months to years, according to the nature of the country, the amount of settlement that takes place in the neighbourhood, and the proclivities of the individuals con-

cerned. When several squatters settle in proximity, and the country they settle is easy of access and without fastnesses to which the Blacks can retreat, the period of warfare is usually short and bloodshed not excessive. On the other hand, in districts which are not easily traversed on horseback, in which the Whites are few in numbers and food is procurable by the Blacks in fastnesses, the term is usually prolonged and the slaughter more considerable.’

As the casualty figures suggest, the struggle was unequal. The essentially egalitarian nature of Aboriginal society meant that there were no established leaders and decisions were made in tribal council. All able-bodied men might be warriors, their weapons consisting of primitive stone axes, spears, wooden shields, *boomerangs*, and a wooden club, pointed at both ends, called a *nulla-nulla*. Not that their fighting qualities were by any means despicable. Aboriginal men were experts at survival techniques and skilled trackers and hunters; neither did they lack courage, as the explorer Edward Eyre commented:

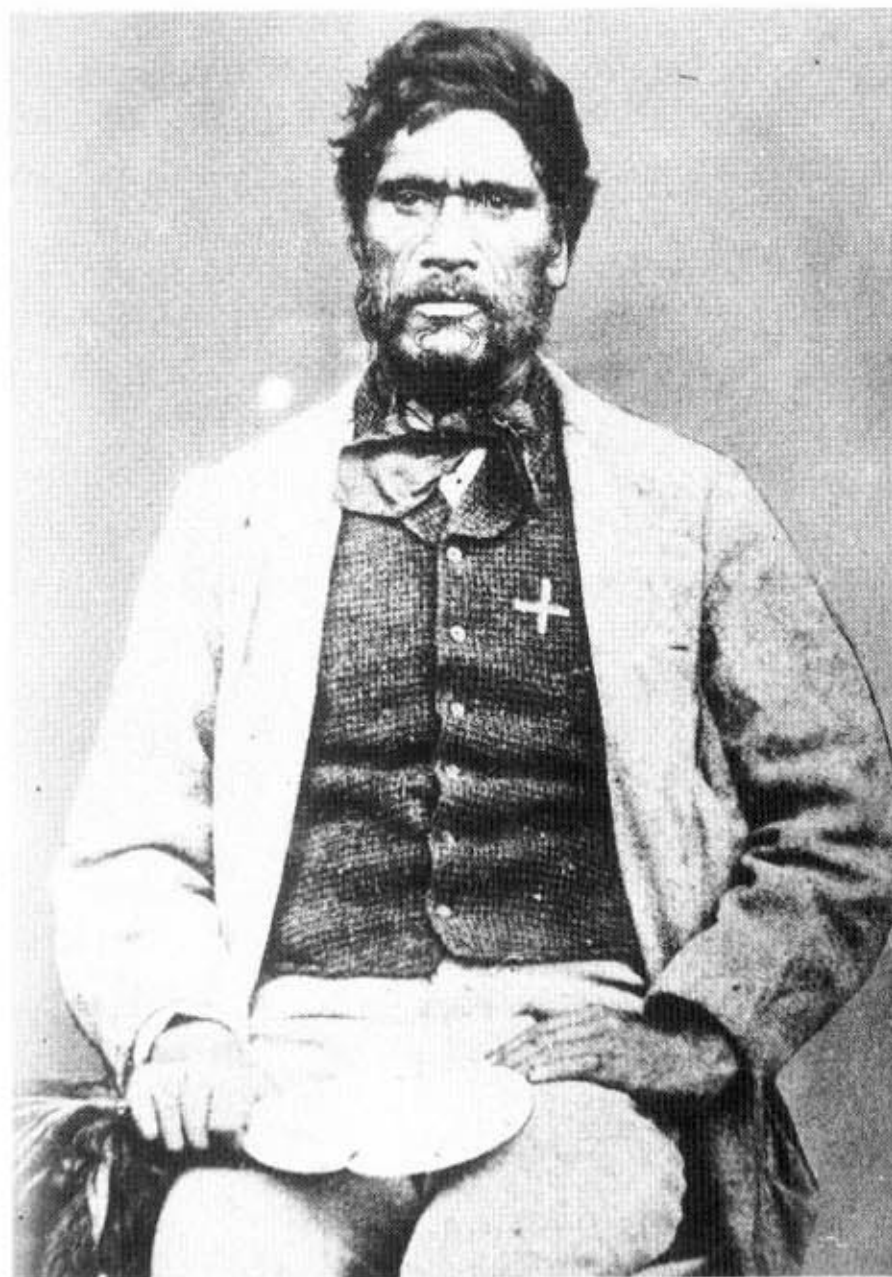
'It has been said, and is generally believed, that the natives are not courageous. There could not be a greater mistake ... nor do I hold it to be any proof that they are cowards because they dread or give way before Europeans with firearms. So unequal a match is no criterion of bravery, and yet even thus ... I have seen many instances of an open and manly intrepidity of bearing and a proud unquailing glance of eye, which instinctively stamped upon my mind the conviction that the individuals before me were brave men.'

The settlers reacted harshly to Aboriginal resistance to encroachment on their land. Many, living in remote districts a long way from the centres of law and order, administered their own 'justice', and ruthlessly hunted down Aboriginal bands believed guilty of stock theft. Even when Colonial police were involved little distinction was made between hostile and friendly groups, and many whites waged a war of extermination on their own property. Settler and Aborigine became locked in a cycle of attack and retribution, often marked by settler massacres and atrocities, which finally drove the Aborigine back into the inaccessible Australian heartlands where the whites dared not follow.

The Eureka Stockade

The rapid expansion of European settlement during the 19th century also brought its own problems, and led to an incident often regarded as Australia's only formal battle. In 1851 gold was discovered in Victoria, and thousands of hopeful miners flooded into the area from all round the world. The local Colonial administration proved unable to cope with the influx and the anarchic life-style of the miners, and attempted to discourage prospecting by levying a heavy licence fee. The licence proved extremely unpopular among the miners, who further resented the tactics of the police—many of them ex-convicts—recruited to enforce it.

In 1853 the 'diggers' formed the Miners' Reform League and elected Peter Lalor at its head. There were outbreaks of rioting in the gold-fields of Ballarat, and the diggers began to collect arms. Tension mounted throughout 1854, and in November the authorities reacted by despatching British troops—from the 12th and 40th



Patara Raukatauri, one of the leaders of the Hauhau movement. He is carrying a whalebone club known as a *patu kotiate*. (Alexander Turnbull Library)

Regiments—to the gold-fields. On the 28th they were met by a mob at Warrenheip Gully, and in the ensuing scrimmage a drummer boy was killed and several soldiers wounded. That night the Miners' Reform League decided to erect a stockade to defend the diggings, and two days later Lalor swore in 500 volunteers under the rebel flag, the 'Southern Cross'. On 1 December the diggers began to erect a stockade on the Eureka plateau, overlooking the road to Melbourne.

Semi-circular in shape, it covered an area of 40 hectares, and was built of wooden slabs barricaded with overturned carts and wagons. Attempts were made to organise the diggers into a military force, and most were armed with some sort of civilian firearm. A number of pikes—iron blades set on wooden poles—were distributed to counter cavalry attacks. Two units of immigrant Americans were particularly well turned out: the Independent California Rangers Revolver Brigade

were led by James Magill, a former US infantry officer, and carried Colt revolvers and Mexican knives, while the American First Rifle Brigade, led by Capt. Nelson, included veterans of the Mexican War.

On the night of 2 December rumours reached the stockade that troops were marching up from Melbourne, and a number of the best-equipped diggers, led by James Magill, marched out to meet them. Others simply slipped away in search of food and drink. The rumours proved false, however, and may have been spread deliberately, since as dawn broke on the 3rd the diggers in the stockade saw local police and military detachments forming up to attack them. The government force consisted of 276 men, and there were between 150 and 200 diggers in the stockade.

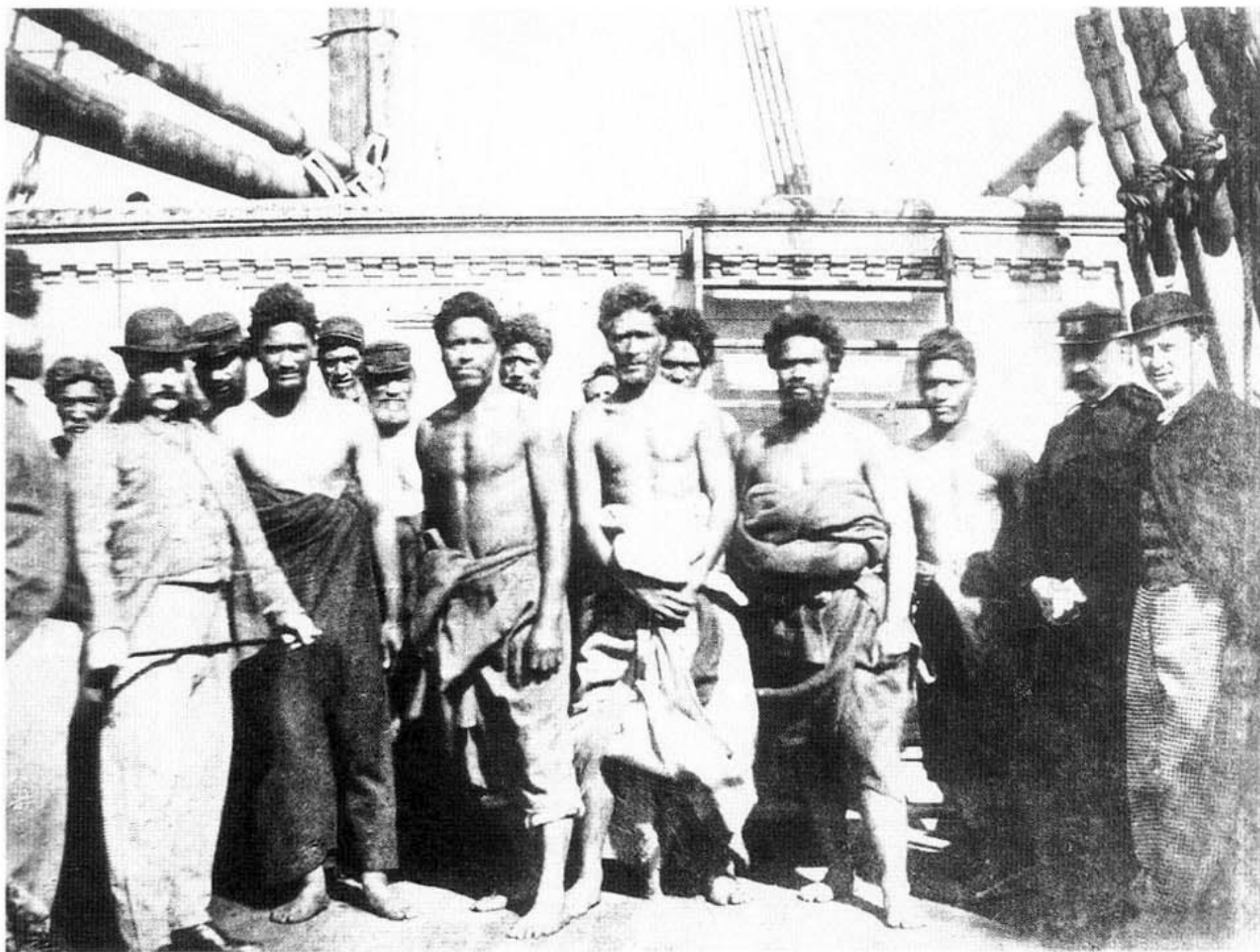
The 'battle of Eureka Stockade' was over in a

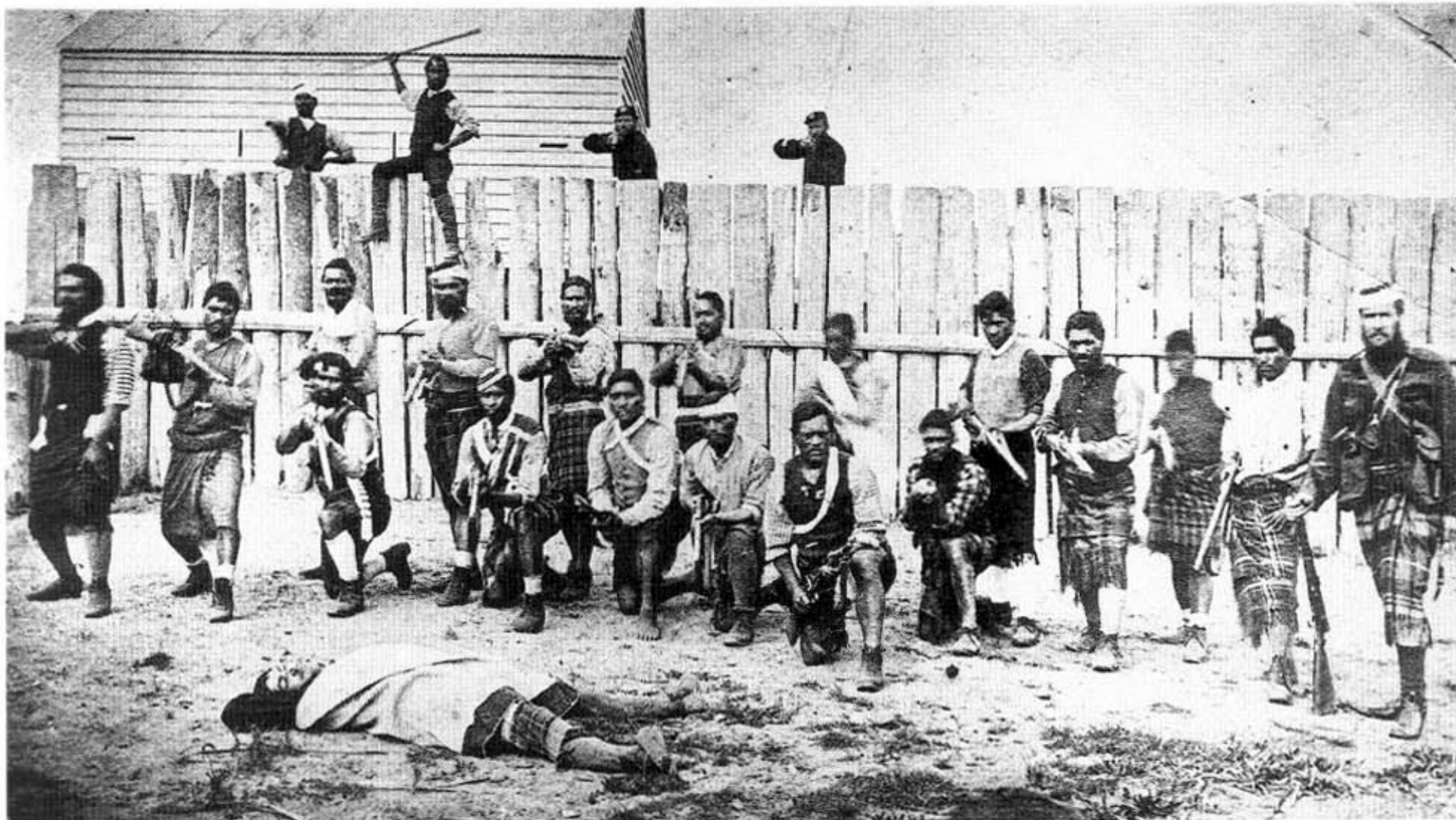
matter of minutes. As the troops advanced to attack the diggers opened fire, and one officer and four privates were killed. But the wooden slabs proved no obstacle, and the soldiers burst through. There was a brief *mêlée*—Lalor himself was wounded in the arm whilst cheering his men on—before the diggers broke and fled. Most, however, were surrounded and captured, and the soldiers gleefully tore down the 'Southern Cross'. Thirty-five diggers were killed, and between 50 and 60 wounded. It was perhaps a high price to pay; but if the diggers lost the battle, their cause triumphed. The resultant political storm led to a number of reforms, and when the survivors were brought to trial the jury acquitted them. Lalor himself was later elected as Ballarat's representative in the State parliament.

Bushrangers

Finally, no account of conflict in 19th-century Australia would be complete without brief refer-

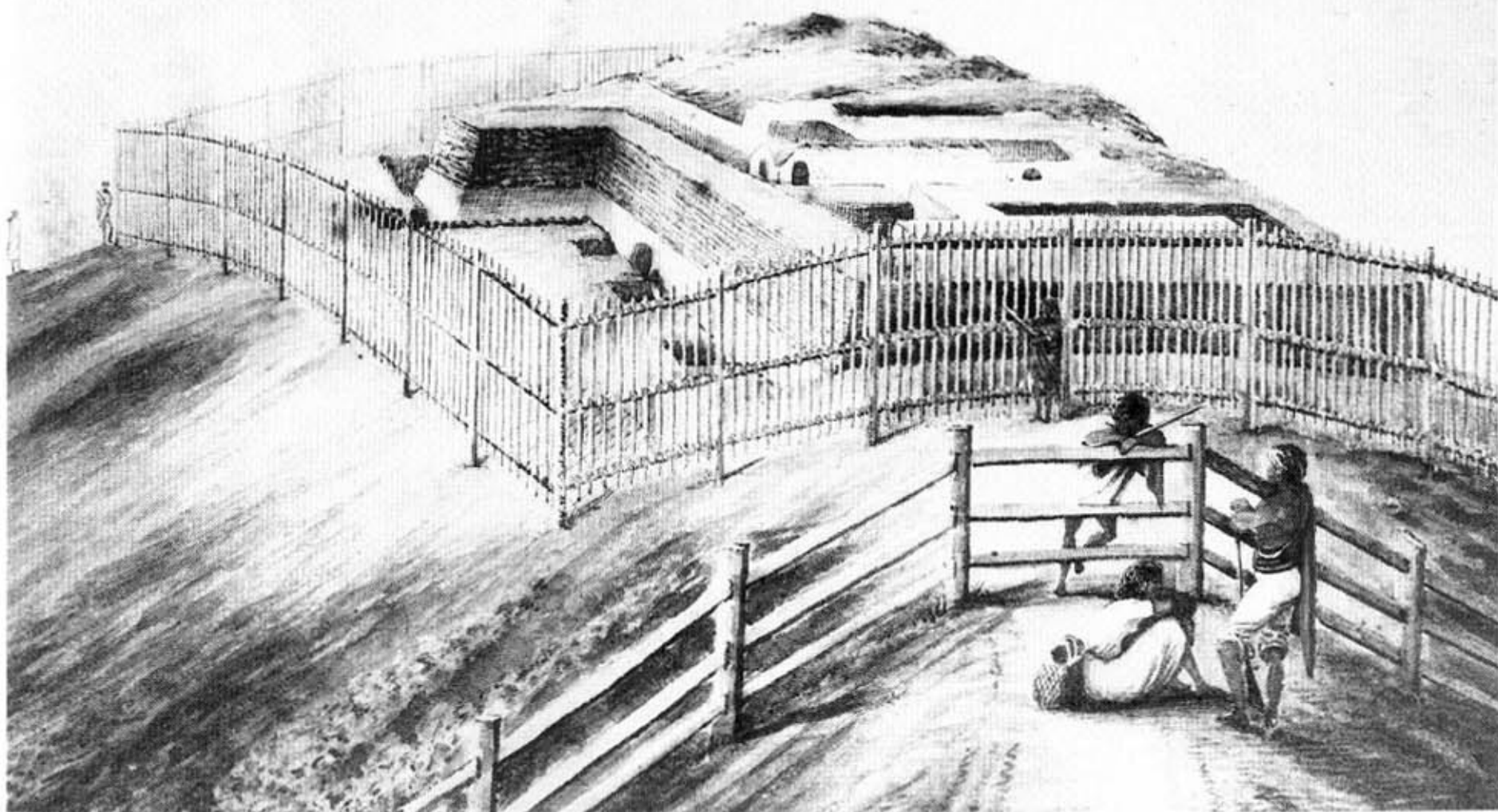
Hauhau prisoners captured at the Weraroa pa, and photographed aboard a prison ship. (Alexander Turnbull Library)

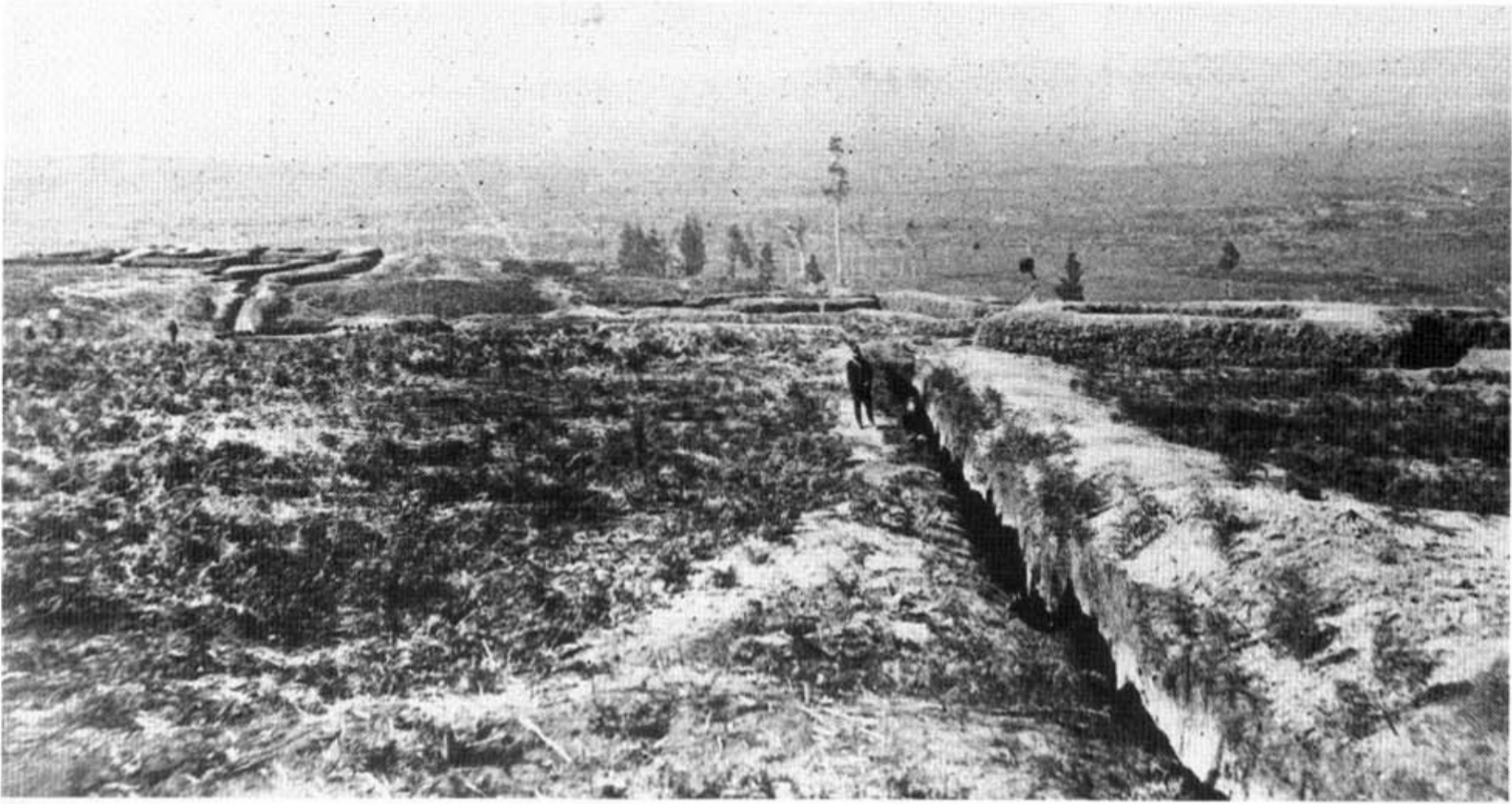




Kupapa Maoris—auxiliaries fighting for the British—photographed c.1868. The dress of hostile warriors would not have been markedly different at this date. (Alexander Turnbull Library)

A fortified pa typical of the 1860s, when complex outer palisades have given way to a light screen serving as a delaying obstacle to attacking troops. (Auckland Institute and Museum)





Although not protected by a palisade this *pa*, Paterangi, has a typical complex system of entrenchments. (Spencer Album,

Hawke's Bay Museum and Art Gallery)

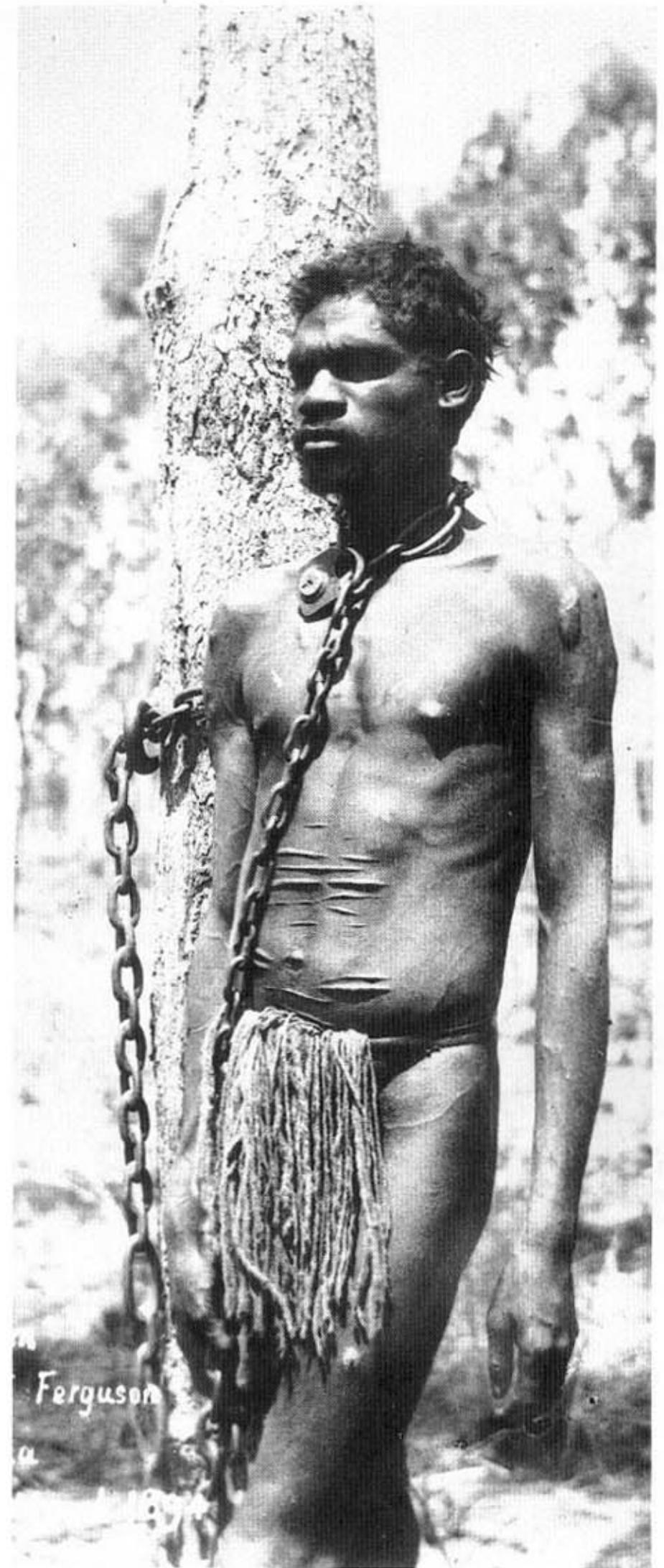


A selection of Maori weapons displayed on a flax cloak. Top to bottom: hardwood club (*patu wahaika*), double-barrelled shot-gun (*tupara*), long-handled tomahawk (*kakauroa*),

whale-bone club (*patu paraoa*) with dog-skin wrist thong, and whale-bone club (*patu kotiate*) with flax wrist-thong. (Taranaki Museum/Tim Ryan)

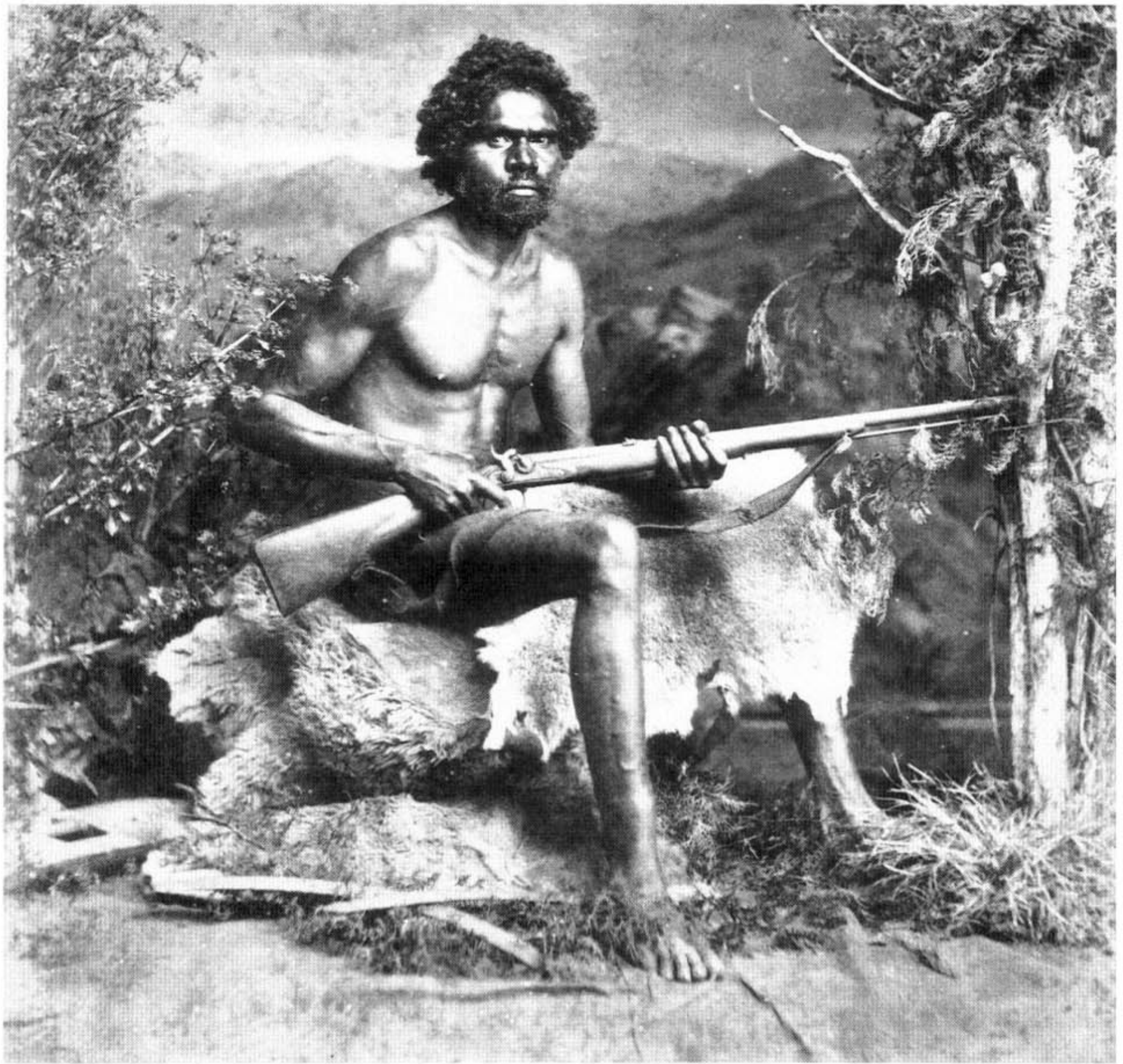
ence to Edward 'Ned' Kelly and the famous gunfight at the Glenrowan Inn. Kelly was born in 1854, the son of an Irish ex-convict, and grew up near the village of Greta in north-eastern Victoria. It was a remote district, and life as a squatter was harsh. The Kelly family frequently clashed with the law, and young Ned was warned several times for petty theft and brawling. At one point he was arrested on suspicion of being an accomplice of Harry Power, a well-known bushranger. The bushrangers were outlaws who preyed on the traffic around the gold-fields, and whose flamboyant ways had made them folk heroes in the poorest section of the settler community. This particular charge was dismissed; but over the next few years Ned Kelly was in and out of jail on charges of stock theft, assault and drunkenness. Then, in 1878, a chain of events began which would lead to a two-year rampage across Victoria, and to Kelly becoming a major threat to public order.

In April 1878 a police constable visited the Kelly



An image which typifies the unequal struggle between the Aborigine and the white man: 'Cumjan, Murderer of Ferguson' is chained by the neck. Note the tribal scarification on the stomach. (Queensland State Archives)

The stock of a 'Brown Bess' musket showing typical Maori decorative carving. (Tim Ryan)



An unusual study of a Clarence River Aborigine armed with a firearm, c.1875. Most Aborigines fought European intruders with traditional weapons. (Queensland State Archives)

homestead. A fight broke out which led to Kelly's mother being arrested and imprisoned for three years. Ned Kelly took to the hills with his younger brother Dan and two friends, Steve Hart and Joe Byrne. Excellent horsemen and bushmen, with many friends in the local community, they eluded police patrols for six months. Then, in October, a party of four policemen disguised as prospectors blundered into them. In the ensuing gunfight Ned Kelly shot three of the policemen dead. The police immediately organised a huge man-hunt, but the

Kelly gang continued to elude them. On two occasions they emerged from the bush to stage spectacular bank hold-ups. Kelly, who had a flair for public relations, made fools of the police and left public letters justifying his actions. To the impoverished and oppressed squatters, many of Irish origin and resentful of English authority in Australia, Kelly became a folk-hero.

In June 1880 the gang made its most audacious move. Kelly's motives have never been satisfactorily explained; one theory is that he was trying to precipitate an uprising among his supporters, another that he was merely trying to force the release of his mother. In any case, the plan was

audacious and murderous. A man suspected of being a police informer answered a knock at his door late one night and was promptly gunned down by Joe Byrne. The gang then rode several miles across country to the hamlet of Glenrowan, which abutted the main Melbourne railway line. A gang of plate-layers were working on the track, and Ned forced them at gunpoint to tear up the rails before marching them off to the Glenrowan Inn where, with other civilian hostages, they were entertained by the gang. Ned's idea was that on hearing of the murder the police would rush men to the scene by train, and that they would be killed when the train ran off the broken tracks. Kelly's plan was sound, but went awry: news of the murder was late reaching the police, and one of the hostages slipped away and intercepted the train. The police disembarked and surrounded the inn before dawn on 28 June.

The resulting show-down was certainly spectacular. The gang had anticipated it, and had made bizarre preparations; they had worked some stolen ploughshares into crude and cumbersome suits of $\frac{1}{4}$ in. thick armour. As the police approached the gang took up a position on the inn's verandah and opened fire; but the armour did not

protect their exposed limbs, and they sustained several wounds when the police returned their fire. Ned Kelly himself stumbled off into the darkness, while the others went inside. Police reinforcements arrived and sporadic firing continued for several hours. Then, in the early-morning mists, Ned Kelly re-appeared. He was wearing an oilskin coat over his armour, and he looked supernaturally large as he lumbered through the trees, calling out to the gang members and taunting the police. He had been badly wounded in his left arm, which he sheltered behind him, but he carried a Colt revolver in his right hand, and blasted away. The police noted with dismay that their return fire appeared to have no effect. Then a quick-witted sergeant brought Kelly down with a shot-gun blast to his legs. He was overpowered and dragged off.

Meanwhile the siege of the inn dragged to a mournful conclusion. One of the outlaws, Joe Byrne, was struck by a stray bullet and bled to death. The police managed to approach close enough to the inn to set it on fire, and the hostages

Some of the armour used by the Kelly Gang at the 'battle of Glenrowan': helmets, breast- and back-plates. In the foreground is a Colt revolving rifle which Ned Kelly carried, but abandoned before his last stand. (State Library of Victoria)





Ned Kelly: a photograph he posed for on the day before his execution. (State Library of Victoria)

were allowed to come out. The badly charred bodies of Dan Kelly and Steve Hart were later found in the ruins; they had apparently died in a suicide pact. Kelly recovered from his wounds and was tried in Melbourne for murder. He went to the gallows on 11 November 1880.

The Americas

The collapse of British power in the American War of Independence reduced her possessions in the Americas to the disunited provinces that made up British North America—modern-day Canada—and the scattered island and Central American enclaves of the Caribbean.

Trouble flared in Canada in 1837, the same year that Queen Victoria came to the throne. Canada had once been a French possession, and French-Canadian settlers, mostly clustered around Quebec and Montreal in what was then Lower Canada, were unsettled by the influx of British

settlers which resulted from the economic depressions which followed the Napoleonic Wars. Keen to preserve their language and Catholic way of life, they resisted the imposition of an English Protestant authority. In late 1837 their discontent flared into open rebellion.

The rebels of 1837 were civilians with little military experience and no training, and their main weapons were antiquated flintlock muskets. They wore no uniform, but dressed in long coats, fur caps and leggings against the fierce cold of the Canadian winter, which, indeed, proved their greatest ally. The Colonial authorities mustered a force of British regulars and local militia and marched them against the rebel concentrations in the villages outside Montreal. For the most part the rebels were easily dispersed by the more disciplined and ruthless troops, though it proved impossible to pursue them thoroughly because of the terrain and weather. As a result the rebellion dragged on in fits and starts until 1838, when the harsh response of the Colonial troops—particularly the local volunteers, who burnt homes and rounded up suspects with enthusiasm—brought it to a close.

The Fenian Raids

A rather more eccentric threat to the stability of Canada came from the Fenian Brotherhood. The depressions which had sent so many British immigrants to Canada had also led to a huge influx into the United States, particularly by Irish fleeing the horrors of the Potato Famine. Many brought with them a fierce love of Ireland and a hatred of the British, who at that time occupied the whole of Ireland. The sons of these immigrants were easily roused in the cause of Irish freedom, and the Fenian Brotherhood was one of a number of organisations set up to fight the oppressor. During the American Civil War thousands of men from the Irish community enlisted to fight for both sides, and this pool of trained and experienced men became a fertile recruiting ground for the Fenians. Once the Civil War was over large sums of money were used to buy government surplus firearms and to equip a Fenian army.

The specific aims of the movement remain obscure. It was intended that they should march into Canada, the nearest British possession, pre-

sumably with the intention of forcing the British to the bargaining table. Since the relationship between Britain and the victorious US was cool—the Union suspected Britain of sustaining Confederate resistance, and was also eyeing Canadian territory acquisitively—there was a real possibility of American intervention, and the Fenian hopes may not have been as outlandish as they now seem.

Between 1866 and 1871 the Fenians made three raids across the border. The first, in April 1866, was little short of farcical, and resulted in the capture of nothing more than a customs post. The US government was embarrassed and the British delighted by the Fenian collapse. The second, about a month later, was more successful. Marching up from New York State and Vermont, the Fenians clashed with Canadian militia at Ridgeway, where a unit of Civil War veterans under Col. John O'Neill particularly distinguished itself. But the raid collapsed when the Canadians brought up reinforcements, and many Fenians were arrested on their return to the States. Nothing daunted, O'Neill tried again in May 1870; but by now the Canadians were well prepared, and his forces were scattered at the battle of Trout River. The Fenian cause was not helped by a traitor in the ranks who disabled their one gun before it could be brought into action.

For the most part the Fenians probably wore civilian costume and carried American Civil War arms and equipment. A print of the fight at Ridgeway shows them uniformed and carrying a green flag bearing a Harp of Erin device. It seems unlikely that Fenian funds stretched to a particular uniform; these were almost certainly O'Neill's veterans, wearing whatever they had retained of their old Civil War uniforms.

The Riel Rebellions

A more serious revolt broke out in 1870 in southwest Canada, in the present-day province of Manitoba. This area was owned up to this time by the Hudson's Bay Trading Company, and thinly settled by Indians and the mixed-race descendants of French trappers, called the Métis. The Métis lived a semi-nomadic existence and subsisted by hunting buffalo. In 1869 the Hudson's Bay Company made an agreement to sell this district, known as the Red River Colony, to the Canadian

government. The Métis were not consulted or even informed, and they became seriously alarmed at the apparent threat to their territory and way of life. They elected a 25-year-old former Classics student, Louis Riel, to represent them, and formed the *Comité National de Métis*.

Riel gathered about 500 armed Métis together and took over Fort Gary, the local Company headquarters, from which he attempted to set up a provisional government. One man who tried to organise resistance against Riel was executed. The Colonial authorities promptly appealed to the mother country for assistance. The resultant campaign was bloodless, and is chiefly remembered for the efficient and imaginative way the British commander, Sir Garnet Wolseley, managed to transport his force across hundreds of miles of trackless country. When it arrived at Fort Gary in August 1870 it found that Riel had disbanded his army and fled to America.

Métis discontent persisted, however. The government gave them farms along the Red River, but many preferred to sell up and move further west into Saskatchewan, where they tried to cling to their old life-style. But civilisation was slowly pursuing them; the buffalo were dying out, farmers were moving in, and surveyors were marking out their lands. They appealed to Riel for help, and he returned from America in early 1885.

This time the rising was more severe. A party of the newly created Royal Canadian Mounted Police rode out to investigate, and were driven back after a stiff fight at Duck Lake in March. Encouraged by the Métis success a group of Cree Indians, who were closely allied to the Métis and shared their grievances, rose up and massacred a group of Company employees at Frog Lake in April. Civilians and Mounties alike abandoned outlying settlements and fell back on the fortified post at Battleford. But Canada had made considerable progress since 1870, and a railway stretched across most of the continent from east to west.

Over 5,000 militiamen were transported to the scene of the rising. Despite persistent skirmishing they advanced unchecked to Riel's headquarters at the town of Batoche. The Métis and their Indian allies had constructed rifle-pits outside the town, but the Canadian forces included artillery and Gatling guns, and the town was stormed in May

Le Roc. Pierre
De Lorme.

Thomas
Bunn.

Xavier
Page.

Andre
Beauchemin.

Baptiste
Tereaux.



Pierre
Poitras.

John
Bruce,
Bob O'Lone.

Louis Riel.

W. B.
O'Donoghue,
Paul Prue.

Francois
Dauphinais.

Thomas
Spence.

RIEL AND HIS COUNCIL (1869-70).

Louis Riel, centre, and the *Comité National de Métis*, 1870. (National Archives of Canada)

A group of Riel's supporters captured in 1885. (National Archives of Canada)



1885. Riel gave himself up on 15 May, and the Crees surrendered on 2 July. For the most part the government was lenient in its retribution—the Cree chief Big Bear was sentenced to life imprisonment, but later pardoned—but Riel himself was found guilty of treason and hanged on 16 November 1885.

The Métis were an unprofessional army, but under commanders such as Gabriel Dumont they were disciplined and, of course, their skill as professional hunters added greatly to their military prowess. Photographs of captured Métis show them wearing civilian clothes and buckskins, and they carried their own rifles, many preferring American Winchesters.

Jamaica

At the opposite end of the continent, 1865 saw a sad little uprising in the colony of Jamaica. Slavery had been abolished in British colonies in the 1830s, but the majority of the black population on former slave plantations lived lives of appalling hardship. In October 1865 a crowd of about 500 black settlers gathered outside the courthouse of the Jamaican town of Morant Bay to protest at harsh sentences given by the local magistrate to blacks found guilty of illegally squatting on Crown land. The magistrate read the Riot Act and ordered the crowd to disperse. They responded with a barrage of stones, and the local militia were ordered to open fire. Several of the crowd were killed; and the infuriated mob burst into the courthouse, set it ablaze, and killed the magistrate and 15 others. A number of estates were then raided and two white overseers killed.

This outbreak provoked a terrible retribution. The governor proclaimed martial law and despatched the 6th Foot to put down the rising. The Maroons, descendants of escaped slaves who maintained their own settlement in Jamaica's remote highlands and who hired out their services as slave-catchers, were also called out. Over 400 blacks were rounded up and hanged or shot, and a further 600 flogged. More than a thousand settlers' huts were indiscriminately destroyed. Eyewitness accounts of these operations, of bodies hanging in trees and the massacre of women and children, provoked an outcry in Britain; the colonel of the 6th, J. F. Hobbs, was 'invalided' home, but

committed suicide during the voyage. Although typical of the brutality which marked the history of slave-based colonies in the Caribbean, the 1865 Jamaica Revolt brought little credit to the British Army.

A: Chinese troops, 1839–60

A1: Manchu cavalryman

Known to the British as 'Tartars'. The reconstruction here is based on eyewitness sketches by H. H. Crealock. Other illustrations suggest that the Manchu cavalry wore the same style of surcoat as the infantry. The bow was a powerful composite weapon.

A2: Matchlock man

This style of dress, with the silk hat and surcoat, remained popular throughout the 19th century. Charges for the matchlock are carried around the waist.

A3: Chinese official or officer

Imperial officials were distinguished by the embroidered panel on their chests—junior ranks seem to have had Chinese characters denoting their position, senior ones an Imperial dragon—and by characteristic hats. Made of fine basket work, these were decorated with red hair plumes and a coloured glass bead on top.

B: Chinese troops, Boxer Uprising

B1: Chinese regular

This uniform is typical of the partially Westernised Imperial forces at the time of the uprising. He is carrying a Swedish Mannlicher rifle.

B2: Tigerman

Traditionally, the Tigermen were lightly armed troops who acted as skirmishers for the Banner-men. They were supposed to assume the fierce qualities of the tiger from their costume which imitated tiger skins. Prince Duan (Tuan), a member of the Imperial Court who supported the Boxers, attempted to revive the Tigermen to support the uprising.

B3, B4: Boxer rebels

Most Boxers were young men who wore their ordinary peasant costume, with perhaps a few

items of red insignia to show their allegiance to the movement. Rejecting Western weapons, they were poorly armed with swords, spears and halberds. B4 is based on a photograph of a man captured during the attack on the Legations. The red aprons—one variant of the Boxer insignia—varied considerably in length and cut, some appearing as a panel on the chest, others hanging to the knees. It was common practice to wear the queue tied up around the back of the head. The trident was a traditional Chinese weapon.

C: Burma

C1: Regular cavalryman, c.1885

Regular Burmese troops were distinguished by characteristic helmets of lacquered bamboo, although there seems to have been little uniformity of dress otherwise. The heavy tattooing on the thigh was a traditional Burmese practice.

C2: Regular infantryman

Although this man is wearing pyjama trousers, many soldiers seem to have worn the ordinary loincloth.

C3: Dacoit

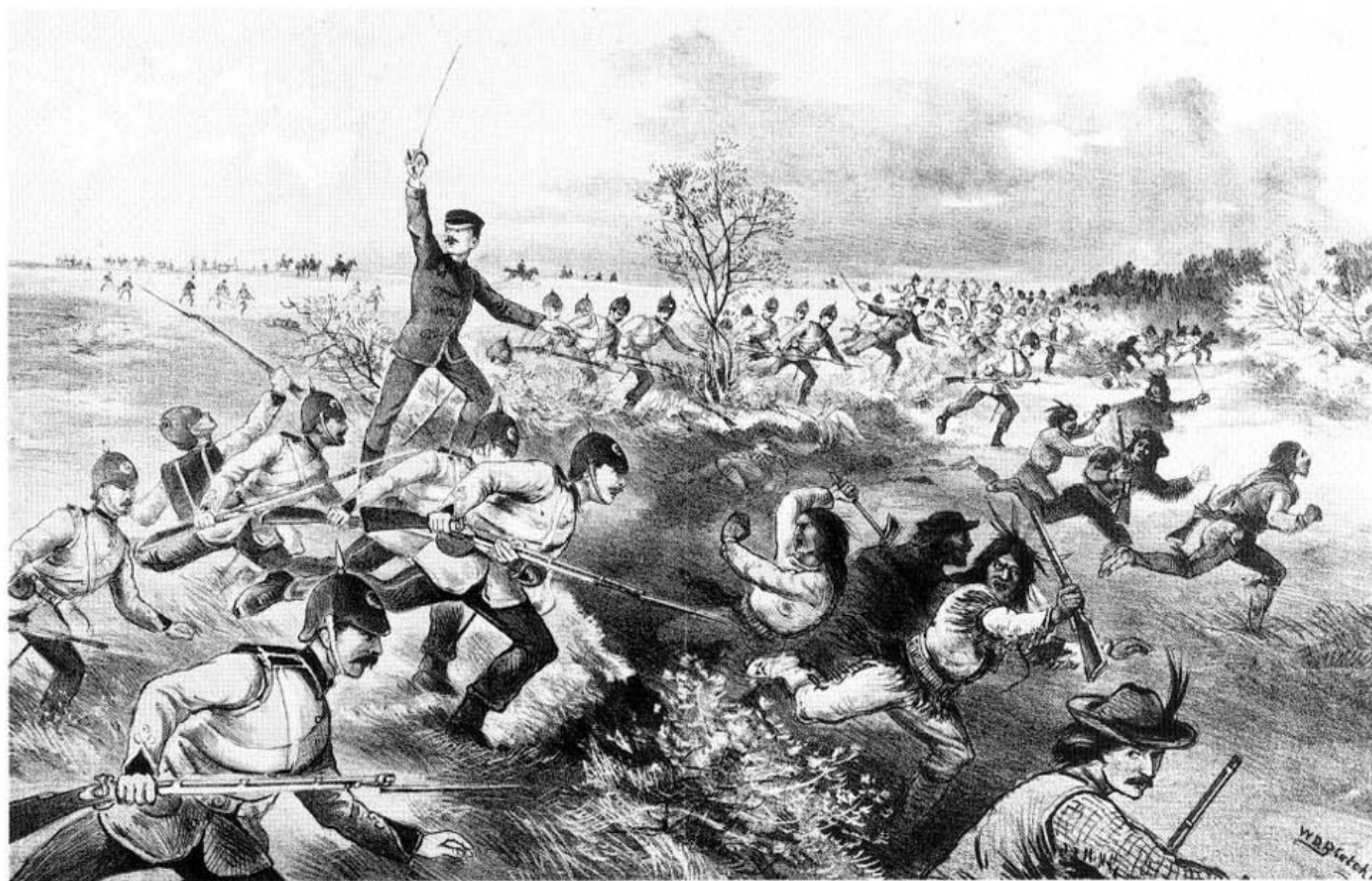
The *dacoits* wore ordinary civilian clothing, and the chequered patterns depicted here show clearly in contemporary photos.

D1, D2: Maori warriors, 1840s

Traditionally, many Maori warriors went into battle naked. D1 is simply wearing a war-belt of flax with a tomahawk thrust into it at the back. He is wielding a *tewhatewha*, a wooden club with a striking edge along the back of the blade. The fluttering plume was intended to confuse the enemy. Note the tattooing on the buttocks and thighs.

Even by the First Maori War many warriors, like D2, had acquired firearms. Cartouche boxes were home-made, and haversacks, made of flax, imitated those of British soldiers. In addition to a firearm warriors would have carried a club or hatchet.

The bayonet charge at Batoche. Although the Canadian troops seem to have worn glengarries into action, this dramatic illustration captures the atmosphere of the battle. (National Archives of Canada)



D3: Chief Hone Heke Pokai of the Ngapuhi tribe

The principal Maori leader in the First Maori War: we have shown him here wearing a short cape decorated with kiwi feathers over a longer flax cloak, and a sea captain's cap which he habitually wore.

E: Maori warriors, 1860–70

E1 is a warrior in war dress. By the 1860s many warriors went into battle either wearing a *maro*, in this case of flax, or a waist blanket. Tomahawks were usually tucked in the back of the belt. Percussion rifles gradually came to replace flintlocks.

E2 is a Maori *ariki* or chief. This man is wearing a fine flax cloak with a decorative border and black cord streamers. He is armed with a traditional striking weapon, the *taiaha*, and a whalebone club. The *huia* feathers in his headdress are indicative of rank.

By the mid-1860s European costume was very popular amongst Maori warriors, and E3 has a typical combination of waist-shawl, shirt and waistcoat. Facial tattooing had by this time died out among young men. The *tupara* shot-gun was a popular weapon.

The flag in the background was used by the Maoris at the famous 'Gate' *pa* in April 1864.

F: Australia

F1: Aboriginal warrior

Aborigine weapons consisted of stone axes, spears, clubs and the familiar *boomerangs*. The shield shown here is a large example; some parrying shields were little more than two or three inches wide. Some contemporary illustrations show attacking warriors wearing white clay-paint on their faces, bodies and limbs.

F2: 'Digger', Eureka stockade, 1854

The diggers affected a rough uniform of chequered shirts and moleskin trousers. This man, armed with Colt revolvers and a large knife, is a member of the Independent California Rangers Revolver Brigade. The flag behind him is the rebel 'Southern Cross'.

F3: Ned Kelly, June 1880

Australia's most famous outlaw as he appeared at the time of his last stand at Glenrowan, wearing an oilskin coat over his armour. Badly wounded in the left arm, he sheltered this behind him, but carried a Colt Navy in his right hand.

G: The Americas

G1: Fenian, c.1866

Most Fenian volunteers probably wore civilian costumes, although as a number were veterans of the American Civil War they may have worn part of their old uniforms, stripped of official insignia. The basis of this man's costume is the uniform of the ACW New York Irish Brigade.

G2: Métis rebel, c.1885

The Métis also wore civilian dress, its appearance reflecting their frontier and hunting lifestyle. They provided their own weapons, and American Winchester were popular.

G3: Jamaican 'rebel', 1865

The brief uprising of black Jamaican squatters and plantation workers was more of a spontaneous riot than a rebellion, and the rebels were armed with little more than the cane knife carried by this man.

H: Miscellaneous warriors

H1: Bhutanese warrior, c.1865

Based on a photo of the king of Bhutan's bodyguard, this man's costume shows an interesting mix of Tibetan and Indian styles. Beneath the turban is an iron helmet, and the shield is a typically Indian design. The cut of the robes reflects the Tibetan influence. Most Bhutanese warriors probably wore robes of this shape, but less colourful, and were less well armed.

H2: Tibetan soldier, 1904

He wears the traditional sheepskin robes of the Tibetan peasant, and is armed with a matchlock with characteristic bipod rest, and a typical sword.

H3: Iban or Sea Dyak warrior, c.1840

The Iban relied on poison darts and the blow-pipe as their projectile weapon, but also carried a decorated short-sword, the *mandau*, for close combat and the taking of heads.

Notes sur les planches en couleur

A1 D'après des croquis par HH Crealock, témoin oculaire; il semble d'après d'autres illustrations que la cavalerie ait porté une houppelande de même style que l'infanterie. L'arc était une composition composite puissante. **A2** Le chapeau de soie et la houppelande conservèrent leur popularité pendant tout le 19^{ème} siècle. Les charges du fusil à mèche se portaient autour de la taille. **A3** Les officiers de l'empire se distinguaient par le panneau brodé sur la poitrine et les chapeaux réalisés en délicats points de vannerie qui étaient décorés de plumets de poil rouge avec une perle de verre colorée sur le sommet.

B1 Caractéristique des forces impériales partiellement occidentalisées au moment de l'insurrection. Il porte un Mannlicher, fusil suédois. **B2** Les 'Tigermen' étaient des tirailleurs légèrement armés pour les 'Bannermen'. Prince Duan (Tuan) tenta de faire renaître les Tigermen pour supporter le soulèvement. **B3 et 4** La plupart des Boxeurs portaient le costume ordinaire des paysans avec quelques pièces d'insignes rouges. Ils étaient pauvrement équipés d'épées, de javelots et hallebardes.

C1 Les troupes régulières birmanes se distinguaient par leurs casques en bambou lacqué. Le lourd tatouage sur la cuisse était une coutume birmane. **C2** Cet homme porte des pantalons de pyjama mais de nombreux soldats portaient la bande-culotte ordinaire. **C3** Ce dacoit porte des vêtements civils à carreaux caractéristiques.

D1 La ceinture de guerre est en chanvre, un tomahawk y est passé dans le dos. La massue de bois est un tewhatewha avec tranchant pour porter les coups tout au long du revers de la lame. Le plumet flottant était destiné à semer la confusion parmi l'ennemi. **D2** Notez le tatouage sur les fesses et les cuisses. La boîte à cartouches était de fabrication personnelle et la musette en lin imitait celle des soldats britanniques. Les hommes portaient une massue ou une hachette en sus de leur arme à feu; la massue en pierre verte que l'on voit ici était particulièrement populaire. **D3** Le principal chef Maori de la première Guerre des Maoris, il porte une cape de plumes de kiwi sur un manteau de chanvre et un chapeau de capitaine de la marine.

E1 Dès les années 1860 de nombreux guerriers vinrent combattre vêtus d'un Maro ou couverture passée à la taille. Les tomahawks étaient généralement passés dans le revers de la ceinture. Les fusils à percussion remplacèrent peu à peu les fusils à mèche. **E2** Un chef Maori portant un superbe manteau de lin avec une bordure décorative. Il est armé d'une massue en os de baleine et du taiaha, une arme traditionnelle. **E3** Le châle porté à la taille, la chemise et le gilet sont un mélange de vêtements européens et maoris caractéristique de la tenue maori plus récente. Le tupara, ou fusil de chasse, était une arme populaire.

F1 Les armes arborigènes consistaient en haches de pierre, javelots, massues et boomerangs. Il porte un grand bouclier. **F2** Cet homme est armé de revolvers Colt et d'un grand couteau et porte un uniforme sommaire se composant d'une chemise à carreaux et de pantalons en velours de coton. **F3** Kelly porte un manteau en toile cirée sur son armure et tient un Colt Navy dans la main droite. Il protège son bras gauche blessé dans son dos.

G1 Ce soldat porte l'uniforme de la Brigade irlandaise de New York de la Guerre civile, sur lequel les insignes officiels ont été retirés. **G2** Les vêtements civils des Métis reléaient leurs frontières et leur mode de vie de chasseurs. Ils apportaient leurs propres armes, les Winchesters américaines étaient également populaires. **G3** Les rebelles jamaïcains possédaient à peine plus que le couteau pour couper la canne à sucre de cet homme.

H1 D'après une photographie du garde du corps du roi du Bhoutan. Un casque en fer est porté sous le turban et le bouclier est un modèle typiquement indien. Les robes montrent une influence tibétaine. **H2** Robes traditionnelles en peau de mouton des paysans tibétains. Il a pour arme un fusil à mèche, avec un support bipied et une épée caractéristique. **H3** Les armes se composaient de la sarbacane et des flèches empoisonnées mais également du mandau, une épée courte décorée, pour les combats rapprochés et pour couper les têtes.

Farbtafeln

A1 Skizzen von Crealock nach Augenzeugenberichten. Andere Illustrationen lassen darauf zurückschließen, daß die Kavallerie dieselben Wappenröcke wie die Infanterie trug. Der Spitzbogen war eine schlagkräftige Waffe. **A2** Im Laufe des 19. Jahrhunderts blieb der Seidenhut und der Wappenrock weiterhin beliebt. Munition für das Luntenschloß wurden an der Hüfte getragen. **A3** Königliche Beamete unterschieden sich durch die bestickten Brusteinsätze und durch die mit großer Kunstfertigkeit geflochtenen Stroh Hüte, die mit roten Haarfedern und bunten Glasperlen oben auf besetzt waren.

B1 Bezeichnend für die zum Teil königlichen Einheiten aus dem Westen aus der Zeit des Aufstandes. Getragen wird ein schwedisches Mannlicher-Gewehr. **B2** Die Tigermänner waren leicht bewaffnete Vorkämpfer der Standarte. Prinz Duan versuchte, die Tigermänner wieder ins Leben zu rufen, um den Aufstand zu unterstützen. **B3, 4** Die meisten Boxer trugen die herkömmliche Bauerntracht mit einigen roten Insignien. Sie waren nur unzureichend mit Schwertern, Speeren und Hellebarden ausgerüstet.

C1 Die meisten birmanischen Soldaten trugen lackierte Bambuschelme. Die umfangreiche Tätowierung auf den Oberschenkeln war eine birmanische Tradition. **C2** Dieser Mann ist in Pyjamahosen gekleidet, viele trugen aber einen Lendenschurz. **C3** Dieser Bandit trägt die übliche karierte Zivilbekleidung.

D1 Der Kriegsgürtel ist aus Flachs, indem ein Tomahawk von hinten durchgestoßen wird. Der Holzschlagstock ist ein Tewhatewha, mit einer Schlagkante entlang dem Scheiderücken. Die wippende Feder dient dazu, den Feind zu verwirren. Auffallend ist die Tätowierung auf den Gesäßbacken und den Oberschenkeln. **D2** Die Sprengkapselschachtel stammte aus der Eigenherstellung. Die Provianttasche war aus Flachs gewebt und war der der britischen Soldaten nachempfunden worden. Ein Beil wurde zusätzlich zur Feuerwaffe mitgeführt. Das abgebildete Grünsteinbeil war besonders beliebt. **D3** Der Hauptanführer der Maori des Ersten neuseeländischen Krieges. Er trägt einen Umhang aus Schnepfenstraußfedern über einen Flachsmantel und den Hut eines Kapitäns der zur See fährt.

E1 Um 1860 gingen die meisten Krieger mit einem Maro oder einer Hüftdecke ins Feld. Tomahawks wurden in der Regel hinten in den Gürtel gesteckt. Perkussionsgewehre verdrängten die Steinschloßgewehre. **E2** Der Maori-Häuptling trägt einen feinen Flachsmantel mit einem verzierten Rand. Er ist mit einem Walknochenbeil und einer Taiaha, einer traditionellen Waffe ausgerüstet. **E3** Das Hüfttuch, Hemd und Wams ist eine Zusammenstellung aus europäischer und neuseeländischer Kleidung, die später für die Bekleidung der Maori bezeichnend wurde. Das Tupara-Gewehr war eine beliebte Waffe.

F1 Die Waffen der Ureinwohner setzten sich aus Steinäxten, Speeren, Beilen und Bumerangs zusammen. Er trägt ein großes Schutzschild. **F2** Dieser Mann ist mit einem Colt Revolver und einem großen Messer bewaffnet. Überdies ist er in einer unansehnlichen Uniform mit kariertem Hemd und Maulwurfelhosen gekleidet. **F3** Kelly trägt einen Ölmantel über seinen Schutzpanzer und hält einen Colt Navy in seiner rechten Hand. Sein verletzter linker Arm ist hinter ihm geschützt.

G1 Dieser Mann trägt eine Uniform der irischen New Yorker Brigade aus dem amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg ohne die offiziellen Insignien. **G2** Die Zivilkleidung der Métis spiegelt den Lebensstil der Jäger bzw. im Wilden Westen wider. Sie verfügten über ihre eigenen Waffen—die amerikanische Winchester waren beliebt. **G3** Die Aufständischen aus Jamaika waren nur mit Rohrzucker-messern bewaffnet, wie dieser Mann.

H1 Die Abbildung beruht auf einem Photo von einem Leibwächter des Königs von Bhutan. Unter dem Turban befindet sich ein Eisenhelm, und das Schutzschild ist typisch indisch. Die Gewänder zeigen tibetanischen Einfluß. **H2** Traditionell tibetanische Bauerngewänder aus Schafsfellen. Zur Bewaffnung zählen Luntenschloß mit zweifüßiger Stütze sowie ein Schwert. **H3** Die Waffen waren ein Blasrohr mit vergifteten Pfeilen, ein verziertes kurzes Schwert, der Mandau für den Nahkampf und das Enthaupten.